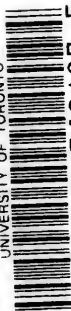


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LIVY.

BOOKS XXI.—XXV.



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LIVY

BOOKS XXI.—XXV.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

*TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
WITH NOTES.*

BY

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PREFACE.

THE best known translation of Livy is, we believe, that of Baker, published in 1797. We have often consulted it, and it has, we think, considerable merits, though here and there it sinks into mere loose paraphrase.

It is hardly necessary to say a word in favour of the particular selection we have made from Livy's great work. Nowhere does his vivid and animated style appear to greater advantage than in his narrative of Hannibal's conflict with Rome, especially in its earlier and more exciting stages, when Rome's very existence seemed to be in jeopardy.

We have translated almost invariably from the text of Madvig and Ussing, 1862.

A. J. C.

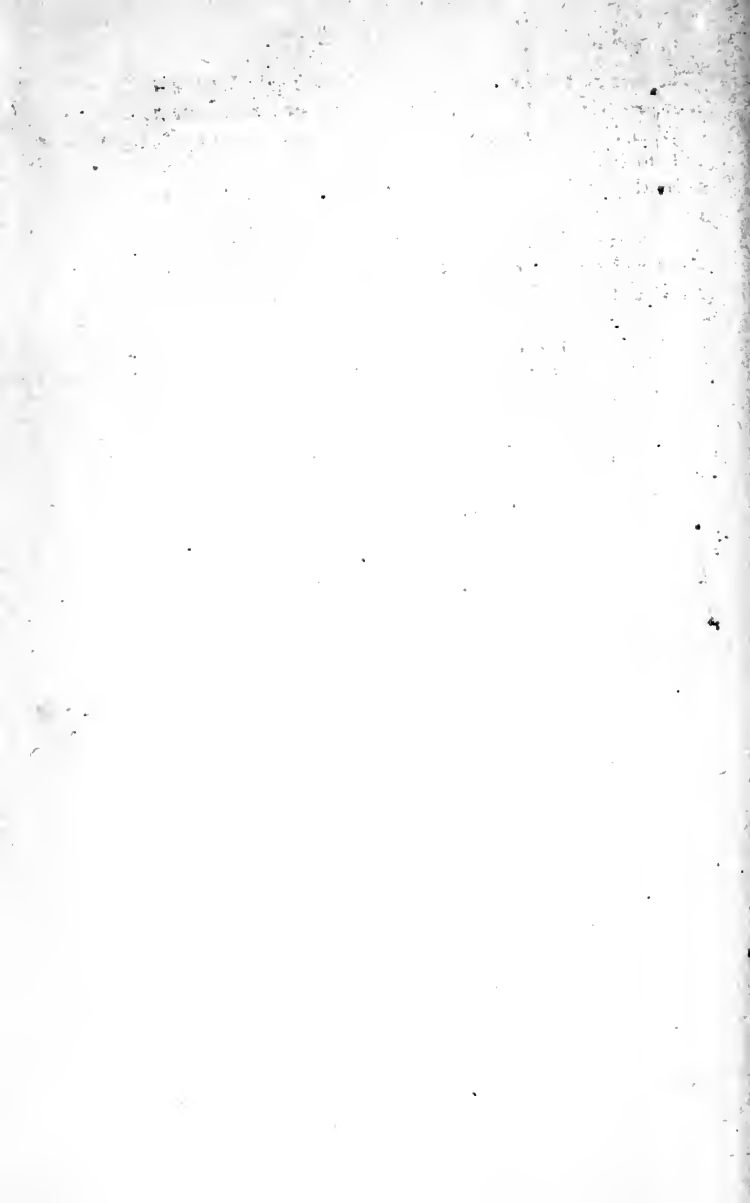
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MAPS.

ITALY AND CARTHAGINIAN DOMINIONS	<i>Frontispiece</i>
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INTRODUCTION.

LIVY'S narrative presumes a knowledge of the antecedents of the Second Punic War, which we here summarise for the reader's convenience.

The relations between Rome and Carthage date from a very early period. A treaty was concluded between the two powers in B.C. 509, the year after the expulsion of the kings. Polybius (III. 22) gives the substance of it, admitting, at the same time, that the archaic Latin in which it was expressed was perplexing to the most learned men of his day. It provided that neither Romans nor allies of Rome were to sail for trading purposes beyond the headland known as Apollinis Promontorium, now Cape Farina, situated immediately to the north-west of Carthage; that in the part of Sicily subject to Carthage, Roman and Carthaginian traders were to have the same rights, that the Carthaginians were not to occupy any fortified position in Latium, or to do any injury to any of Rome's subjects or allies, or indeed to meddle with any Italian city, whether subject to Rome or not. By "beyond the headland," Polybius explains that the coast eastwards was meant, with special reference to the seaports known as Emporia, Phœnician colonies on the shores of the Lesser Syrtis. But westward of this promontory to any point along the coasts of Numidia or Mauritania, as well as to Sardinia or Sicily, Roman traders were free to go.

Polybius observes that the provisions of this treaty imply that Carthage claimed Sardinia and Libya as her own territory, but only certain portions of Sicily, these portions being, it would appear, the west and north-west coasts. It is clear that this great commercial city wished to exclude the Roman traders from the eastern waters of the Mediterranean. Equally anxious was

Rome to keep Italy, though only a portion of it was actually under her subjection, to herself, and to guard its shores from those piratical raids to which the Phœnicians were addicted.

2 A second treaty was negotiated in B.C. 347, with, on the whole, less favourable conditions for Roman traders. In this treaty Carthage did not speak for herself alone, but claimed to represent the Tyrian peoples generally, and the important city of Utica, also a Tyrian colony. Rome was to confine her trading and piratical expeditions within narrow limits on the coast of Africa, and was to be wholly excluded from Sardinia. As to Sicily, matters were to be on the footing of the older treaty. So also, as before, Carthage was not to meddle with Roman territory in Italy; should her corsairs capture any town on the Latin shores that was not subject to Rome, the plunder and the captives might be retained, but the town itself was to be surrendered. Carthage was to have no settlements or possessions on the coasts of Italy. Rome, on her side, was to inflict no injury on any town or people on friendly terms with Carthage. The treaty was to be binding on the allies of the two powers.

Rome's trade, as well as her military strength, had, it may be presumed, grown considerably in the interval between the two treaties, and Carthage felt she must guard the interests of her own commerce by further restrictions. The effect of this last treaty would be to secure to her the largest and most profitable part of the trade of the Mediterranean.

2 A third treaty, concluded in B.C. 279, at the time of Pyrrhus, invasion of Italy, ratified the terms of the two preceding treaties and further provided for a defensive alliance between Rome and Carthage, the latter power undertaking to put her fleet at the service of her ally for purposes of transport, and even of actual war, short of the obligation to disembark troops on the enemy's territory. A record of this treaty, inscribed on a brass tablet, was kept in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; this Polybius had, it would appear, personally inspected, and he takes occasion to note what he describes as an unaccountable error made by a contemporary writer, Philinus, who published a history of the First Punic War. The Romans, according to this writer, were, by this third treaty, wholly excluded from Sicily, as the Carthaginians were from Italy, and were consequently guilty of a gross breach of international engagements, when they crossed over onto the island to the support of the Mamertines (men of Mars),

as a disreputable band of freebooters from Campania called themselves. The act of invading Sicily, Polybius states positively, was not a violation of any treaty-obligation, though it was undoubtedly a discreditable thing for the Romans to ally themselves to such a cause. The war which ensued between Rome and Carthage may be fairly traced to Roman intervention in support of the treacherous seizure of Messina by a set of robbers, and such intervention can have been prompted only by a greed of empire.

The First Punic War began in B.C. 264 and ended in B.C. 241 with the decisive victory of the Roman admiral, Lutatius Catulus, at the Ægates Islands off the west coast of Sicily. It was a hard-fought struggle, glorious, no doubt, for the conquerors, whose ultimate triumph was the reward of the persevering energy which had created a navy, and had wrested from the mistress of the Mediterranean her maritime superiority. It was clearly proved that in naval strength, and indeed in the long run, in material strength, Rome was superior to Carthage. Rome's first aim and object, for which she counted no sacrifice too costly, was empire ; with Carthage it was commercial success and wealth. Rome loved to fight with her own citizens ; Carthage must employ mercenaries. At the conclusion of the war Roman trade and Roman finance were sorely crippled, and were probably in a far worse plight than those of her rival ; but in the event of a renewal of the contest everything pointed to a similar result.

The name of Hamilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal, first became famous in this war, and it was through him that negotiations for peace were set on foot by Carthage. He acted, says Polybius, with the sagacity of a statesman who knows exactly when to yield as well as when to persist. It was rather a truce than a peace which he was arranging. The terms exacted by Rome were such as to suggest that she did not wish to prolong the struggle. The whole of Sicily was to be given up by the Carthaginians, and also the islands between Italy and Sicily, and they were to restore without ransom all Roman prisoners, to pay down 1,000 talents, and a further sum of 2,200 talents by ten annual instalments, an amount in all equivalent to about £800,000 of our money, though it should be understood that when estimated in relation to modern finance it really represented a vastly larger sum. All Carthaginian territory, properly so-called, was to be recognised as perfectly independent of Rome, and neither Rome

nor Carthage were to enter into any separate engagement with the allies of either power. These last conditions seem to have been unsatisfactory to the popular party at Rome, which thought that after the efforts and sacrifices they had made they had a right to insist on depriving Carthage of her political independence. At first the assembly of the people refused to confirm the action of the senate and to ratify the treaty of peace. The final arrangements were made by Roman commissioners in Sicily.

Thus the main result to Rome of the First Punic War was that Sicily became from that time a Roman dependency. The Romans called it a province, but in using that term we must understand that it was as yet not under the direct rule of Rome. King Hiero, whose head-quarters were Syracuse, was Rome's ally rather than her subject, and it was through him that Roman influence made itself felt throughout the island. The Greek cities looked up to him with a respectful and friendly sentiment, while they still retained their own municipal constitutions.

No sooner was the war with Rome over than Carthage found herself face to face with a danger which threatened her very existence. Her mercenary troops, now no longer needed, rose on their return from Sicily to Africa in a furious mutiny, in which they had the sympathy and support of the neighbouring native population, which caught at the opportunity of shaking off the yoke of Carthage. They were a mixed multitude gathered out of the wild tribes of Europe and Africa ; "hordes of half naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Loto-phagi ; Carthaginians and Liby-Phœnicians formed the centre, the former of whom were a sort of separate corps, dignified by the title of the sacred legion ; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the desert, swarmed round upon unsaddled horses and formed the wings ; the van was composed of Balearic slingers, and a line of colossal elephants with their Ethiopian guides formed, as it were, a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army." It was the hard fate of Carthage to have to struggle for nearly three years with the gigantic insurrection of this rude and motley host. The war commonly known as the Mercenary or African war, was also from the ferocity with which it was waged, spoken of as the "truceless," or "inexpiable, war." Even at this terrible crisis Carthage was not free from the rivalries of political factions,

though ultimately the genius of Hamilcar won for her a complete triumph as far as the immediate contest was concerned. But before it was ended, her troops in Sardinia, which had also mutinied, surrendered the island to Rome, and the surrender was accepted in disregard of the terms of the last treaty. Thus both Sicily and Sardinia were lost to Carthage previous to the Second Punic War. This was, of course, a severe blow to her maritime power.

It was not long, however, before she obtained some compensation for her losses. Under the conduct and direction of the great Hamilcar she acquired a large territory in Spain, where as yet she had possessed only the small commercial centre of Gades with its immediate vicinity. Spain was a country with a rough and hardy population and all the material of an efficient army, with a number of strong positions and hill-fortresses, and with the sources of great wealth in the silver mines in its southern districts. It was Hamilcar's aim to reduce it to a Carthaginian dependency, and to raise from its warlike tribes a well-trained infantry by way of supplement to the admirable Numidian cavalry. We have not the means of tracing his operations in detail, but we may take it as certain that he showed extraordinary capacity both as a general and a statesman, and gave Carthage a new source of both military and financial strength. After his death, in B.C. 229, which occurred in battle with some tribes in the interior, his work was ably continued by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal ; the conquests of Carthage were confirmed, several cities were founded, among them New Carthage (Cartagena) with its excellent harbour, and the mines in the neighbourhood were worked with a great profit. It is probable that the territory directly under Carthaginian rule comprised what is now Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, and Valencia, and that Carthaginian influence extended to the eastern shores of the peninsula. Carthage had thus not only recovered lost ground, but had greatly added to her strength at all points. She had in her armies a formidable infantry as well as splendid cavalry, and her new possessions largely increased her means of furnishing them with regular pay. She was in fact at the height of her power when she entered on the Second Punic War.

Rome naturally did not like the state of affairs in Spain, and the result was a treaty with Hasdrubal providing that the Carthaginians were not to advance east of the Ebro with designs of

conquest. The treaty, so said the war-party at Carthage, was not concluded with the sanction of the home-government. Polybius (iii. 29) characterises this as an impudent statement, and, though Polybius usually leans to the side of Rome, it seems reasonable to assume that in such an important matter Hasdrubal, from his high position, must have been understood as speaking in the name and with the authority of Carthage. Hannibal's attack on Saguntum, which was to the west of the Ebro, was not indeed a violation of this treaty or compact with Hasdrubal, but it was obviously meant as an insult to Rome, whose allies, as he well knew, the Saguntines had been for many years. In this sense Carthage may be said to have provoked the Second Punic War, though had Rome wished to put herself in the right and to stand by the faith of treaties, she ought to have given up Sardinia, which, as we have seen, she had acquired by the treacherous surrender of the mutinous Carthaginian garrison. The determination to avenge an undoubted and comparatively recent wrong has usually been thought a just ground for war.

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LIVY AND HIS HISTORY.

LIVY AND HIS HISTORY.

OF Livy's life we really know nothing. If we can trust the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, he was born 59 B.C., the year of the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, and he died 17 A.D., the fourth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius. Patavium (Padua) was his birthplace. This may be considered as quite established, on the authority of Symmachus and Sidonius Apollinaris, learned writers in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and of a passage in one of Martial's *Epigrams* (l. 62-3), which clearly connects Livy with the district of Patavium. And there is the additional fact that the eminent critic Asinius Pollio reproached him with "Patavinity." A provincial, then, by birth, Livy was among the number of the literary men of the Augustan age, and was the contemporary of Horace and Virgil. We gather from Tacitus (*Annals*, iv. 34) that he was on decidedly friendly terms with Augustus, who used playfully to call him a "Pompeian"; whence we infer that the historian's political sympathies were with the republican party. It is to be noted that in this same passage Tacitus pays him a very high compliment, saying of him, that he was "pre-eminently famous for eloquence and truthfulness." We may take for granted that by truthfulness Tacitus meant political impartiality, which of course under the empire was highly creditable to his honesty, rather than exact historical accuracy. It would seem certain that he stood well in the favour of the court, as according to Suetonius (*Life of Claudius*, 41) the young Claudius Nero, Augustus's stepson, and afterwards emperor, himself tried his hand at history on the strength of Livy's advice. But it is too much to assume on such slender ground that he was the prince's tutor. His fame as an historian

was so thoroughly established and so widely spread during his lifetime, that a Spaniard from Cadiz, so Pliny tells us in one of his Letters (*Epp.* II. 3), travelled to Rome merely to see him. He wrote, it appears, a letter of literary advice to his son, and from one sentence of this, which is quoted by Quintilian, it has been conjectured that he began life as a teacher of rhetoric, a conjecture indeed which has some plausibility, and which found favour with Niebuhr. As to the two sons whom he is said to have had, as to the marriage of one of his daughters to a rhetorician of the name of Magius, as to his frequent visits to Naples and his presentation to Augustus of some work on philosophy, all this, though quietly assumed by his biographer, Tomasini, rests on a story of an inscription said to have been preserved at Venice of the history of which nothing is known. We must be content to be in the dark about the particulars of Livy's life. We pass on to his great literary work.

This he himself called *Annals* (XLIII. 13). It was nothing less than an entire history of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the year B.C. 9, the year of the death of Drusus in Germany, and it was contained in one hundred and forty-two books, of which unfortunately only thirty-five have come down to us. It appears from Suetonius (*Life of Caligula*, 34) that the crazy emperor Caligula was even on the point of destroying them along with Virgil's works, on the ground of their prolixity and inaccuracy. However, it is almost certain that *they were even in existence in the fourth and fifth centuries, but during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, at the close of the sixth century, it is said that strict orders were given for their destruction.* The Pope, it seems, had a special objection to Livy's history on account of its heathen legends and stories of prodigies. It is possible, therefore, that the grievous loss we have sustained may have been due to Gregory's foolish fanaticism. There was a notion indeed that Livy's work was still to be found entire in England in the twelfth century, as William of Malmesbury quotes from the lost books. These quotations, however, may have been merely derived from other writers, and not directly from Livy. In the sixteenth century, during the revival of letters, there were sanguine hopes of recovering the whole work, and Pope Leo X. spared no effort

to do so. There were flying stories that a perfect copy was to be found in St. Columba's monastery at Iona, or in the monastery at Mount Athos, or in the island of Chios, or in the Escorial, or even in the Sultan's seraglio, and it was further rumoured that there were Arabic translations of it stowed away in the libraries of Constantinople. There were many strange tales, one that a portion of the second decade was found in the parchment of a battledore; that the player, who happened to be a man of learning, went at once to the maker of the battledore, but only to find that he had used Livy's last page for a similar purpose. We must, we fear, finally resign ourselves to the loss. It is indeed a grievous one, for the lost books contain the later history of the Roman republic, with which Livy must have been well acquainted. Arnold said that he would gladly give up all that we now possess of Livy's work in exchange for those portions which related the Italian war and the civil wars between Sulla and Marius. We have indeed epitomes of the one hundred and forty-two books, ten only excepted, and we are thus able to form some notion of the plan and development of the work. We have no means of knowing to whom we owe these epitomes, but it is on the whole probable that they were compiled shortly after the publication of the work. They are not without their value, and are occasionally of real service to us, but for the most part they are extremely meagre, and in some cases they are comprised in two or three lines. For example, the epitome of the 136th book merely tells us that it was the narrative of the conquest of Rætia by Tiberius and Drusus.

Livy's history has been divided into decades or groups of ten books; a division dating, it would appear, from a comparatively late period, and suggested perhaps by the circumstance that books 1, 21, and 31, open with a brief preface. There is no ground for supposing that the idea originated with the author.

The first decade, which has come down to us entire, relates the history from the foundation of Rome to the consolidation of her power in Italy, in B.C. 294, by the thorough subjugation of the Samnites, Rome's most formidable foe in the peninsula.

The second decade is lost. It brought the history down to

219 B.C., and contained the narrative of the war with Pyrrhus and the first Punic war.

The third decade we possess entire. It gives us the account of the second Punic war, ending in 201 B.C.

The fourth decade is entire. It brings us down to B.C. 179, and tells us of the extension of Rome's empire in Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia.

Of the fifth decade half has come down to us. It ends with the reduction of Macedonia into a Roman province, and the triumph of Æmilius Paulus for the final conquest of that country. It brings us down to 167 B.C.

This is all we have of Livy's history—thirty-five books. Of the remaining books we have nothing but a few fragments. Of these, one from the 120th book is of great interest. It is the account of the death of Cicero, and in it Livy records his estimate of the famous orator's character. He speaks of him with qualified praise, and plainly hints that he was wanting in manliness. "Still, after all," he adds, "if you weigh his merits against his defects, he was a great, an able, and very distinguished man, and to praise him adequately "we need a Cicero for his panegyrist." Livy, it appears, dared to speak his mind freely under Augustus, and here very possibly we have an instance of the "truthfulness" which Tacitus, as we have seen, mentions as one of his honourable characteristics.

Livy's history of the latter days of the republic must have been very full and minute. What we possess brings us down, as above stated, to the year 167 B.C., and his history closed with the year 9 B.C. Consequently, no less than ninety-five books were devoted to the history of a period of one hundred and fifty-eight years. This consideration is quite enough to show us very plainly what a terrible historical loss we have sustained. With Livy's guidance it can hardly be doubted that we should have had a very complete knowledge of Roman politics and history during a most interesting and exciting period.

His history, it is probable, was not all published at one time. In Book I. chap. 19, he speaks of its having been the privilege of his age, to have witnessed the closing of the temple of Janus, after the victory of Actium (B.C. 31). The first decade may very possibly have been published shortly after

that date, and then its publication would have coincided with the time at which Virgil was at work on his great poem. The temple of Janus was closed twice during the reign of Augustus, the second occasion being the decisive conquest of the warlike Cantabri in Spain in B.C. 26. Some time between these two closings, Livy's first decade may have made its appearance.

Livy had great external advantages as an historian. He had, as a matter of course, easy access to all the libraries and archives and public documents of Rome, as the emperor's friend and *protégé*. There was an abundance of official records, the annals of the pontiffs, the commentaries or notes of important events, also in the keeping of the pontiffs, the registers known or referred to as the "libri lintei" (books written on linen), stored up in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol, a multitude of inscriptions and a vast collection of state-papers, which would include laws, treaties, decrees of the Senate and of the "plebs." These documents, according to Suetonius, went back almost to the foundation of the city, an exaggeration of course, but still they must have furnished an immense mass of materials for a judicious and painstaking historian. But this Livy certainly was not, and it is clear that he made but a poor and slovenly use of much that lay ready to his hand. All this has been sufficiently pointed out by Niebuhr and by his eminent disciple, our own Arnold. Livy, in fact, it is certain, had not enough in him of the spirit of research to examine for himself old musty documents, or even to scrutinise with his own eyes some of the most important inscriptions. He seems never to have made a study of papers which would have thrown light on the constitutional history of Rome; even with the famous Laws of the Twelve Tables, and with their general scope and purpose, he was not acquainted. It is much to be wished that he had had a little more of the "dry as dust" about him. But such matters were not to his taste. The rhetorician, the man of letters comes out in every page. Never was there a more graphic or charming writer. Yet here again we have to find fault. His descriptions were often deplorably inaccurate from a want of knowledge which he might have acquired. Of this we cannot take a more conspicuous instance than his narrative of Hannibal's passage of the Alps. He does not seem to have made a study of some

of the best and most learned authors. He never mentions one of the most erudite works of the time, Varro's *Annals and Antiquities*, which unfortunately has not come down to us, and he refers only once or twice to Cato's *Origines*, a book in which the early history of Italy was discussed by a distinguished statesman living in the second century B.C. It would appear that he drew the materials of his early books mainly from the poet Ennius, and from Fabius Pictor, the first Roman annalist, a writer of the third century B.C., who had the reputation of being a very respectable authority on his country's earliest history. We may, we think, take it for granted that Livy wrote more with a view to popularity than to clear up obscure and controverted points. He addresses himself to the general public, not to scholars and lawyers and men of learning. Of the antiquarian and critic one sees at a glance that he has absolutely nothing. He tells us in his preface what his idea of history was: its great purpose was to teach moral lessons by conspicuous examples, and this the history of Rome in its origin, growth, and decline did, he thought, with remarkable effect. It is to be noted that he does not speak of his own age as by any means a highly favoured one, but as a time in which "we can" "neither bear our vices nor the remedies which might heal them." This certainly is no flattery of Augustus. As to the early history he plainly says that its traditions are "embellished with poetic fables, and that he has no mind to argue for or against them. "Antiquity may be fairly allowed to give a grandeur and dignity "to the origin of a state by blending the human and divine." On the principle here professed the earlier portion of the history is evidently written. There is no attempt at anything like a critical sifting, which he probably would have regarded as labour in vain. But it is foolish to charge him with credulity because he gave his countrymen the popularly accepted version of the first beginnings of their city. He continually mentions alleged prodigies, not of course because he believed them, but because, as he himself says (Book XLIII. chap. 13), when he is speaking of antiquity, his mind takes an antique cast and character. We feel at once that these prodigies, though of course they were fictions, had their significance for the popular sentiment, and the mention of them gives the reader an insight into certain aspects

unreliable

of Rome's life, and is therefore curious and interesting. Livy certainly carries out pretty consistently the general programme which he has laid down for himself in his preface.

Though he speaks of the corruption of his time, he has the most intense admiration of the greatness of Rome. "If any people have the right, the Roman people may assuredly claim a divine origin, and such is their fame in war that all the nations of the world may as contentedly acquiesce in their boast that they are the children of the god of war as in their empire itself." The thought of Rome's surpassing greatness, of her almost miraculous growth from a very humble beginning, was ever present to his mind. This it is, coupled with a remarkably vivid style, which gives to his work the charm and interest of which we are all conscious. The truth is that his history is on the whole all the better for having been written with a strong patriotic feeling. He may have been unfair to the great Hannibal, just as many of our own writers found it impossible to be fair to Napoleon. Still we believe that even in such cases, where his mind would naturally have a very decided bias, the general impression he leaves is not very far wrong. Hannibal himself, for instance, whose very name was enough to excite a perfect frenzy of hatred in a Roman breast, stands out in the pages of Livy as quite the greatest figure of the time. Here at any rate he has let us see the truth, even while he was most zealously striving to hold up to his reader's admiration the glory and greatness of Rome.

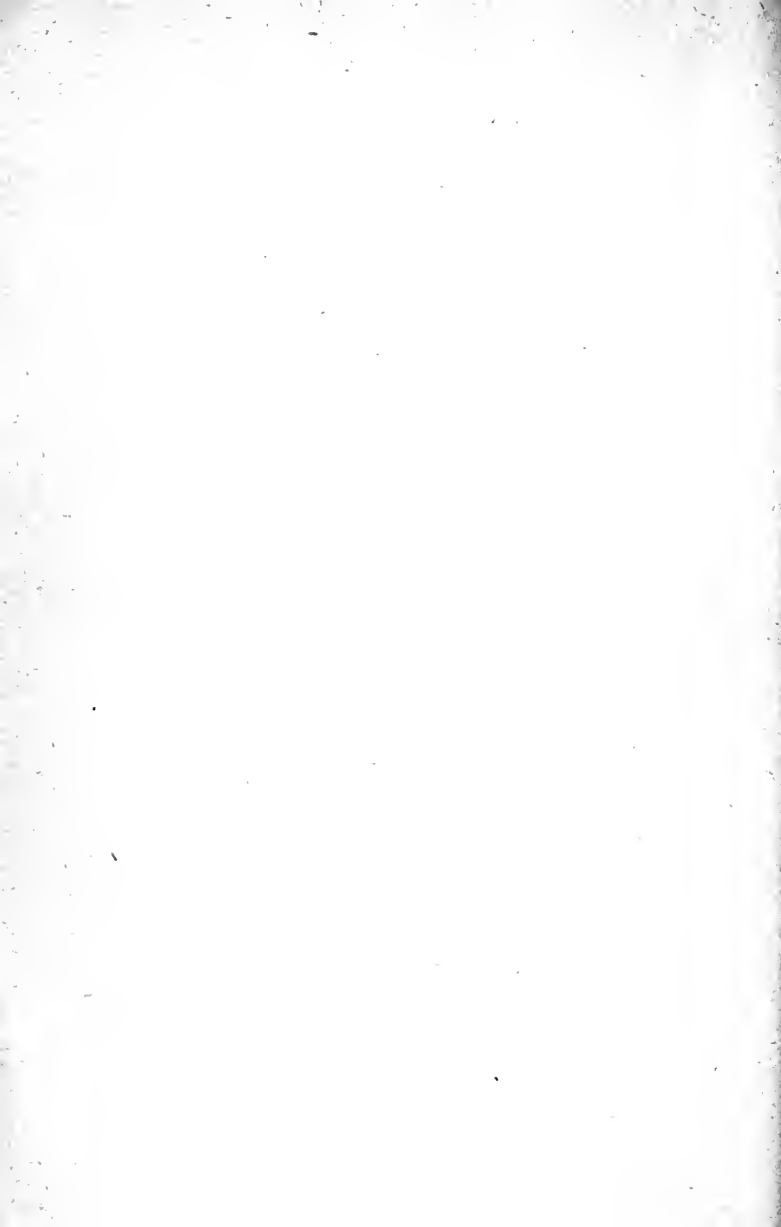
Livy, like all men of any ability and worth, had his political views and sympathies, and these were strongly marked. Every historian must have his political bias, and it is no slur upon Livy if he had his. We have noted that Augustus used to joke him as a "Pompeian," and indeed it is clear enough that Livy's heart was with the old days of the republic, which he liked to think of as the "good old times." Nor was he altogether wrong, though we may admit that he took much too favourable a view of the past. There was a virtue and a public spirit in those days, which, after the close of the second Punic war, and the conquests in the east, sensibly declined. This had made a deep impression on Livy, and we find him in his preface deploring the relaxation of discipline and the decay of morals, and

these evils he probably connected in his mind with the advance of democratic sentiment. His ideal of a state was a patriotic and high-principled aristocracy, to which the people could look up with sincere respect and confidence. The demagogue, and the stirrer up of what he called sedition, was an abomination to him. He takes care that we shall see very plainly that, in the party contests which he describes, he is in heart a patrician, and that for the people and their demands he felt generally a dislike and contempt. We may infer this from the speeches which he puts into the mouths of popular leaders. There is often a low and vulgar tone about them, and the speakers are usually credited with selfish and unworthy aims. Very possibly what he had himself seen and heard of popular turbulence in the latter days of the republic may have confirmed his patrician bias. There is one pleasant feature about his work. His pages are never sullied by any reflections inconsistent with purity and virtue. The writer, we feel, must have been a good and pure-minded man, the more so when we consider how corrupt and depraved was the age in which he lived. But in his works as they have come down to us there is hardly a passage that need call a blush to the cheek. He preferred to write history with a moral view, and he is, so far as we can judge, distinctly true to his profession. Whatever is good, noble, and unselfish instinctively commands his sympathy. If occasionally it seems otherwise, we must remember that he was a Roman, and Rome's greatness and fame were supremely dear to his heart.

His "Patavinity" (this, as we have seen, was the reproach flung at him by the learned and critical Pollio) has given rise to a great variety of conjectures. The people of Patavium, it has been said, were on Pompey's side, and thus the charge would resolve itself into one of what, under Augustus, would be a perverse political bias. But this is a far-fetched notion, and we may assume that what Pollio meant by his criticism was what we should call "provincialism of style," and an occasional use of words and phrases that would not quite commend themselves to the most polished society of Rome. If there was any such defect in Livy, it is altogether beyond the perception of the best modern scholars, and it is significant that so accomplished a critic as Quintilian gives us no hint of it. Pollio's criticism, we may fairly

suppose, could not have been well founded, and must have been due to a love of carping, perhaps also to a dislike of Livy, and a jealousy of his success and popularity.

To sum up. Livy had many admirable qualities as a writer, a charming and delightful style, which could most skilfully adapt itself to the particular events he was narrating, a hearty sympathy with goodness and virtue, and, if we may take the word of Tacitus, a fearless truthfulness where there was a strong temptation to flattery. He had great faults, faults serious indeed, when we judge him by our modern standard. He had not the industry of the antiquarian, or the subtle discernment of the historical critic. He had no notion of treating history as a science ; it was with him a storehouse of moral and political lessons, which it was an author's duty to convey as agreeably and impressively as possible to his readers. The story of the republic was in his eyes a drama full of interest and instruction, and of the many lost treasures of antiquity it is perhaps the one which we have most reason to wish we possessed in its integrity.



SUMMARY.

BOOK XXI.

B.C. 218.

Importance of the Second Punic War—The greatest of all wars in the author's opinion—Would have commenced at an earlier date but for the death of Hamilcar—Character of his son Hannibal (1—4).

Origin of the war in Hannibal's attack of Saguntum, a city in Spain, in alliance with Rome—Siege and capture of the city in disregard of Roman protests (5—15).

Rome prepares for war, but at the same time sends an embassy to Carthage to sound the temper of the Carthaginians—Debate in the Carthaginian senate—War proclaimed (16—18).

Hannibal's preparations—He crosses the Ebro, passes the Pyrenees, and arrives, after the passage of the Rhone in face of opposition from the Gauls, at the foot of the Alps—His brother, Hasdrubal, he leaves with an army in Spain to guard Carthaginian interests in that country (19—32).

Hannibal's passage of the Alps—The sufferings of his army, and his great losses—His arrival in Italy (33—39).

He defeats the Romans under Publius Scipio on the Ticinus, and afterwards more decisively on the Trebia (40—57).

He fails in an attempt to cross the Apennines—The Carthaginians in Spain are defeated by Cneius Scipio—Flaminius, the consul, leaves Rome, without the sanction of the Senate, to take command of the army (58—63).

BOOK XXII.

B.C. 217.

Hannibal, after a four days' march through the swamps round the Arno, enters Etruria—Flaminius, disregarding several unfavourable omens, is drawn into a battle at Lake Trasumennus and utterly defeated (1—6).

Fabius Maximus is appointed dictator—The Sibylline Books are consulted, and solemn religious ordinances are decreed amid intense public anxiety (7—10).

Fabius contents himself with watching Hannibal's movements as he marches into Samnium and Campania—His master of the horse, Minucius, excites a feeling against him in the army by ridiculing these cautious tactics—Fabius is summoned back to Rome (11—18).

The Romans considerably strengthen their position in Spain under the brothers Cneius and Publius Scipio (19—22).

The dictator Fabius is very unpopular at Rome—In his absence from the army Minucius successfully engages the enemy, and by a vote of the commons the command is divided between him and Fabius—His rashness involves him in the utmost peril, from which he is rescued by Fabius, whom from that time he willingly acknowledges as his superior (23—30).

The Romans still pursue the tactics of Fabius, which greatly embarrass Hannibal, although they do not meet with the approval of the commons (31—33).

B.C. 216.

Under the new consuls, Terentius Varro and Æmilius Paulus, very large armies are raised, and aid is received from King Hiero of Sicily (34—37).

Varro, before leaving Rome with the army which is under the joint command of himself and Paulus, boasts that he will soon end the war—Paulus is more cautious, and listens to the advice of Fabius (38—40).

The Romans at Cannæ—Anxiety of Hannibal to bring on a general engagement—Skirmishes between the two armies—Differences between the two commanders, Paulus insisting on

caution, Varro being bent on a decisive action, in which at last he has his way—The Romans are defeated, with the almost total destruction of their army—Livy compares the disaster to the defeat by the Gauls at Allia (41—50).

Hannibal declines to act on the advice of Maharbal, the commander of his cavalry, who urges him to march at once on Rome—The horrors of the battle-field—Surrender of the Romans who had escaped the slaughter (51—52).

The prospects of Rome seem so desperate that several young nobles think seriously of finally abandoning Italy—Scipio, afterwards known as Africanus, frightens them out of their designs—Deliberations in the Senate about the defence of Rome—On the advice of Fabius a restraint is put on public manifestations of grief—By the direction of the Sacred Books, contrary to Roman feeling and custom, human sacrifices are offered—Eight thousand slaves are armed and enlisted—After a debate in the Senate it is decided that the prisoners taken by Hannibal are not to be ransomed (53—61).

BOOK XXIII.

B.C. 216.

Revolt of the Campanians to Hannibal (1—10).

The news of the victory of Cannæ is brought by Mago to Carthage, and confirmed by a great heap of golden rings taken from slain Roman nobles—After some debate in the Carthaginian senate it is decided to continue the war and to support Hannibal (11—13).

Rome prepares for fresh efforts—Hannibal fails in an attempt on Naples—Marcellus repulses him from Nola with considerable loss (14—17).

Hannibal in winter quarters at Capua, where his army becomes demoralised—He besieges and captures Casilinum after an obstinate defence (18—20).

King Hiero assists the Romans—Debate in the Senate on the expediency of enrolling a number of new senators to make up the losses sustained in recent defeats (21—23).

Destruction of a Roman army in Gaul—Efforts of the Romans—Successes of the two Scipios in Spain, which is now brought mainly under Roman control (24—29).

B.C. 215.

Distribution of the Roman armies throughout Italy—Treaty between Hannibal and Philip, King of Macedon—Roman successes in Sardinia—Victory of the consul Gracchus over the revolted Campanians—Hannibal makes an attempt on Nola, but is again repulsed by Marcellus—Patriotic spirit of the Roman citizens, who willingly advance money for the necessities of the state—Decisive victory of the Scipios in Spain (30—49).

BOOK XXIV.

B.C. 215.

Carthaginian operations in Bruttium—Surrender of Locri—Hieronymus, King of Syracuse, concludes a treaty with Hannibal, but is soon afterwards assassinated (1—8).

B.C. 214.

Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus consuls—Gracchus defeats Hanno and a Carthaginian force at Beneventum—Hannibal too is worsted in an engagement with Marcellus—Patriotic spirit of the more wealthy Roman citizens (9—18).

The Romans recover Casilinum—Hannibal, after encamping near Tarentum, retires to Salapia, which he makes his winter quarters (19—20).

Affairs of Sicily—Political factions—A party at Syracuse solicits alliance with Rome—Marcellus arrives in Sicily, captures Leontini, and then lays siege to Syracuse—Obstinate defence of the city under the direction of Archimedes—Several of the towns of Sicily ally themselves with Carthage (21—39).

War with Philip of Macedon—Defeat of the king at Apollonia (40).

Operations of the two Scipios in Spain—Recovery of Saguntum by the Romans (41, 42).

B.C. 213.

Successes of Fabius Maximus—He recovers Arpi in Apulia (43—48).

Syphax of Numidia becomes Rome's ally—He is utterly defeated by Masinissa, the ally of Carthage—In Spain the Scipios enlist the Celtiberi into their service, and for the first time in her history Rome employs mercenaries (49).

BOOK XXV.

B.C. 213.

Hannibal at Tarentum—Foreign superstitions find their way into Rome—The Senate interposes (1, 2).

B.C. 212.

Rome makes unusual efforts, and twenty-three legions take the field, but the raising of this immense army is attended with great difficulty (3—5).

Surrender of Tarentum to Hannibal, but the citadel holds out—Hanno defeated in Campania, and forced to retire into Bruttium (6—14).

Revolt of Metapontum and Thurii to Hannibal—Gracchus and his army are destroyed in Lucania through the treachery of a Lucanian chief (15—17).

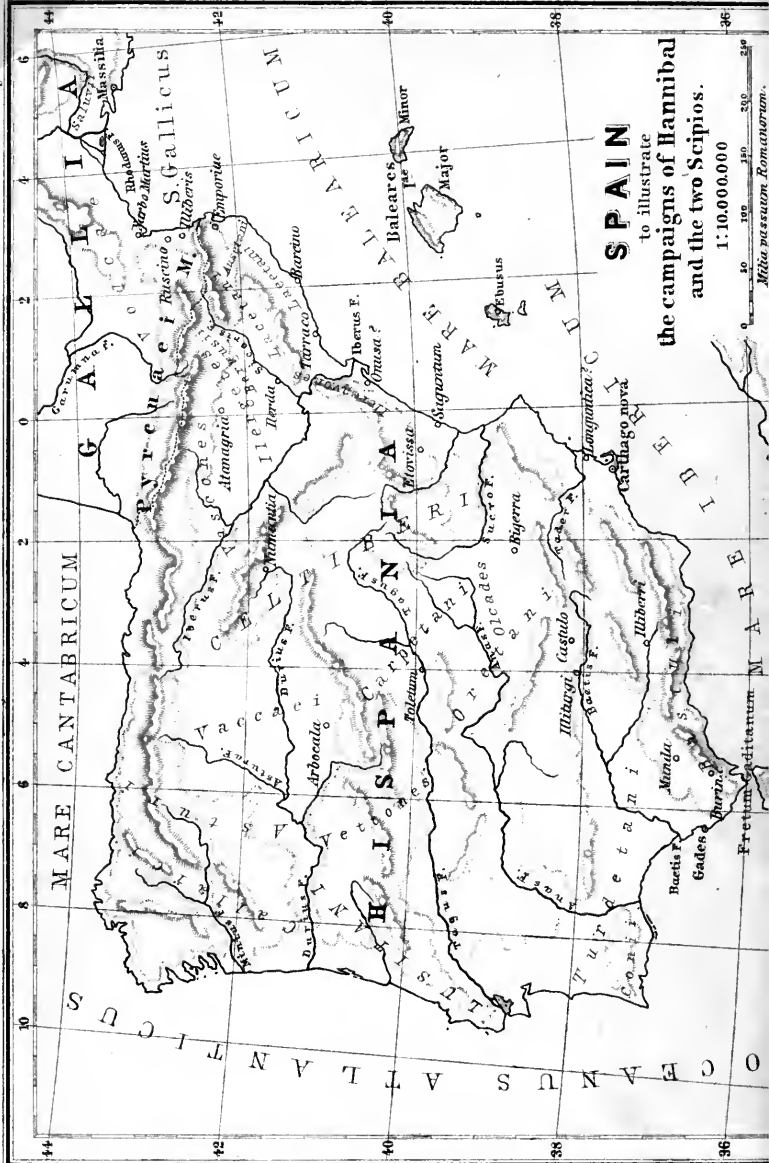
Capua besieged by a Roman army—Defeat of Fabius by Hannibal in Apulia—Despondency of the Romans (18—22).

Siege of Syracuse by Marcellus—The city is at last stormed after a two years' defence, and given up to plunder—Archimedes perishes in the confusion (23—31).

Operations in Spain—The Carthaginians unite their forces—Cneius Scipio deserted by the Celtiberi—Perilous position of the two Scipios—The Carthaginians are strengthened by the arrival of Masinissa with a force of Numidian cavalry—Publius Scipio is reduced to great straits; he ventures to engage the enemy, and is defeated and slain—His brother is shortly afterwards surrounded by the united forces of the enemy, and destroyed with his entire army—For nearly eight years the Scipios had been fighting Rome's battles in Spain—At this crisis the courage and promptitude of a Roman knight, Lucius Marcius, arrested the victorious arms of the Carthaginians (32—39).

The spoils of Syracuse are brought to Rome, and almost all Sicily accepts the Roman alliance, and becomes a Roman dependency (40, 41).

XXXII



SPAIN

to illustrate
the campaigns of Hannibal
and the two Scipios.

1:10,000,000

Milia passuum Romanorum.

indignant
presume

LIVY.

BOOK XXI.

B.C. 218.

I. I CLAIM leave to preface a portion of my history by a remark which most historians make at the beginning of their whole work. I am about to describe the most memorable war ever waged, the war which the Carthaginians, under the leadership of Hannibal, waged against the people of Rome. Never have states or nations with mightier resources met in arms, and never had these two peoples themselves possessed such strength and endurance. The modes of warfare with which they encountered one another were not unfamiliar, but had been tested in the first Punic war. Again, so varying was the fortune of battle, so doubtful the struggle, that they who finally conquered were once the nearer to ruin. And they fought, too, with a hate well nigh greater than their strength. Rome was indignant that the conquered should presume to attack the conqueror, Carthage that the vanquished had, she thought, been subjected to an arrogant and rapacious rule.

There is a story, too, of Hannibal when, at nine years of age, he was boyishly coaxing his father Hamilcar to take him with him to Spain (Hamilcar had just finished the African war, and was sacrificing before transporting his army to that country), how the child was set by the altar, and there, with his hand upon the victim, was made to swear that, so soon as he could, he would be the enemy of the Roman people. The

BOOK XXI.

Great importance of the Second Punic War.

Story of Hannibal's childhood.

BOOK XXI.

loss of Sicily and Sardinia was very galling to the high-spirited Hamilcar. Sicily, he knew, had been surrendered in premature despair; Sardinia had been snatched from them by Roman fraud, in the midst of their troubles in Africa, while an additional war indemnity had been imposed on them.

2. Agitated by these thoughts during the five years of the African war which followed immediately on the recent peace with Rome and then during the nine years in which he was extending the Carthaginian empire in Spain, he showed plainly by his actions that he was meditating a war greater than that in which he was engaged. Had he lived longer, the Carthaginians, led by Hamilcar, would have entered Italy in arms, as they did afterwards under the leadership of Hannibal.

*Death of
Hamilcar,
who is suc-
ceeded in the
command by
Hasdrubal.*

The singularly opportune death of Hamilcar and the extreme youth of Hannibal delayed the war. During an interval of eight years between the father and the son, Hasdrubal held supreme command. In the first bloom of his youth, such is the story, he became the favourite of Hamilcar, who subsequently in his later years, seeing his high spirit, chose him to be his son-in-law. As such, he rose to power, not indeed with the approval of the principal citizens, but by the influence of the Barcine faction, which was very great with the army and the people. Preferring policy to force, he advanced Carthaginian interests far more by forming connexions with the petty chiefs, and by winning over new tribes through the friendship of their leading men, than by war and arms. To him, however, peace proved quite as dangerous. A barbarian, resenting Hasdrubal's execution of his master, murdered him in open day. Seized by the bystanders, he seemed as cheerful as if he had escaped; even when he was torn upon the rack, the expression of his face was of one who laughed; so completely did joy triumph over agony. It was with this Hasdrubal that Rome, seeing his marvellous tact in dealing with the tribes, and in attaching them to his government, had renewed the old treaty. The river Ebro was to be the boundary of their respective empires, while the Saguntines, who were between the dominions of the two nations, were to retain their freedom.

*He is
murdered.*

*Hannibal
succeeds him.*

3. As to Hasdrubal's successor, there could be no question that the leader of the soldiers' choice—they had instantly carried

the young Hannibal into the general's tent, and proclaimed him commander-in-chief amidst loud and universal acclamation—was followed by the good wishes of the people. When he was a mere boy, Hasdrubal had written a letter inviting him over to Spain, and a proposal had been actually made in the Senate, the Barcine party contending that Hannibal should be trained to the soldier's life and succeed to his father's high position. To this, Hanno, the leader of the opposite faction, replied, "Hasdrubal's demand seems fair, and yet I, for my part, maintain that we ought not to grant what he asks."

Astonishment at a speech so ambiguous having drawn every eye upon the speaker, Hanno added: "The youthful beauty which Hasdrubal himself surrendered to Hannibal's father, he has now good right, he thinks, to claim back from the son. But we surely ought not to habituate our young men to the wanton lusts of our generals by way of an apprenticeship in arms. Or are we afraid that the son of Hamilcar will have to wait too long before he witnesses the unrestrained power, the show of monarchy, which his father assumed; that we shall fall too slowly under the domination of the son of the man who left, as might a king, our armies as an inheritance to his son-in-law? For my part I think that this young man should be kept at home under our laws and magistrates and taught to live on the same terms as the rest of us, or else, I fear, this little fire will some day blaze forth into a mighty conflagration."

4. Hanno carried the assent of but few, among whom, however, were all the best men. As so often happens, numbers prevailed over right. Hannibal was sent to Spain, and instantly on his arrival attracted the admiration of the whole army. Young Hamilcar was restored to them, thought the veterans, as they saw in him the same animated look and penetrating eye, the same expression, the same features. Soon he made them feel that his father's memory was but a trifling aid to him in winning their esteem. Never had man a temper that adapted itself better to the widely diverse duties of obedience and command, till it was hard to decide whether he was more beloved by the general or the army. There was no one whom Hasdrubal preferred to put in command, whenever courage and

*Character
of Hannibal*

BOOK XXI. persistency were specially needed, no officer under whom the soldiers were more confident and more daring. Bold in the extreme in incurring peril, he was perfectly cool in its presence. No toil could weary his body or conquer his spirit. Heat and cold he bore with equal endurance; the cravings of nature, not the pleasure of the palate, determined the measure of his food and drink. His waking and sleeping hours were not regulated by day and night. Such time as business left him, he gave to repose; but it was not on a soft couch or in stillness that he sought it. Many a man often saw him wrapped in his military cloak, lying on the ground amid the sentries and pickets. His dress was not one whit superior to that of his comrades, but his accoutrements and horses were conspicuously splendid. Among the cavalry or the infantry he was by far the first soldier; the first in battle, the last to leave it when once begun.

These great virtues in the man were equalled by monstrous vices, inhuman cruelty, a worse than Punic perfidy. Absolutely false and irreligious, he had no fear of God, no regard for an oath, no scruples. With this combination of virtues and vices, he served three years under the command of Hasdrubal, omitting nothing which a man who was to be a great general ought to do or to see.

*His first
military
operations.*

5. From the day on which he was proclaimed general, he regarded Italy as his duly assigned province, and war with Rome as his special commission. Feeling that there must not be a moment's delay, or that he too, like his father Hamilcar and afterwards Hasdrubal, might, if he hesitated, be cut off by some sudden mischance, he resolved on war with Saguntum. As it was certain that Rome would be provoked to arms by an attack on this place, he first led his troops into the territory of the Olcades, a tribe beyond the Ebro, within Carthaginian limits rather than within their actual dominions. He wished to seem, if possible, not to have made Saguntum his object, but to have been gradually drawn into war with it, by successive events, the subjugation of neighbouring tribes and the annexation of territory. He stormed and plundered Cartala, a rich city and the capital of the Olcades. Terror-stricken by this disaster, the weaker submitted to his rule and to the tribute imposed on them. The victorious army, laden with booty, was

now marched into winter-quarters at New Carthage. There, by a liberal distribution of the spoil and a faithful discharge of all arrears of pay, Hannibal won all hearts among both citizens and soldiers.

Early in the spring, the war was pushed into the country of the Vaccæi. Their towns, Hermandica and Arbocala, were stormed. Arbocala owed a long defence to the valour and the numbers of its inhabitants. The fugitives from Hermandica joined the exiles from the Olcades, the tribe conquered in the previous summer, and together roused the Carpetani. Falling upon Hannibal, on his return from the Vaccæi, near the river Tagus, they threw his troops, encumbered as they were with spoil, into confusion. Hannibal declined an engagement. He encamped on the river bank, and, as soon as ever he noticed that the enemy was quiet and silent, forded the stream. He extended his lines so far only that the enemy had room to cross, for he resolved to attack them during the passage. He ordered his cavalry as soon as they entered the water to charge the encumbered host. On the bank he ranged his forty elephants. The Carpetani, with the contingent of the Olcades and Vaccæi, numbered a hundred thousand, an invincible array had the battle to be fought been in open and level country. Naturally fearless, they were now confident in their numbers. Fancying that the enemy's retreat was due to fear, they saw in the river the only obstacle to victory; and, raising a shout, dashed recklessly into the stream, taking every man the nearest way, without waiting for any orders. From the opposite bank a strong body of cavalry was launched into the stream against them, and the two met in midchannel in an utterly unequal conflict. The foot soldier, with insecure footing and but a faint trust in the ford, might well be beaten down even by a weaponless rider who spurred his horse fiercely at him, while the trooper, free to use limbs and weapons, his steed standing firm even amid the rush of the water, could fight at close quarters or skirmish as he pleased. Numbers were swept away by the stream; some were carried by the eddying current among the enemy, and trampled down by the elephants. Those in the rear who could return in comparative safety to their own bank, began to re-assemble from all parts to which they had fled; but before they

BOOK XXI. could recover from so great a shock, Hannibal had plunged into the river with a column in fighting order, and driven them in flight from the shore. He laid waste their country, and within a few days the Carpetani too had surrendered. And now all beyond the Ebro except Saguntum was in Carthaginian hands.

*Saguntum
threatened.*

*The
Saguntines
send envoys
to Rome.*

6. War with Saguntum was not indeed yet declared ; but already, with a view to war, quarrels were being started between it and its neighbours, more particularly the Turdetani. When the very man who was the sower of strife took up the cause of the tribe, and it was evident that he was not bent on arbitration, but on hostilities, the Saguntines despatched envoys to Rome, begging help for a war now assuredly imminent. The consuls at Rome were then Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. They introduced the embassy to the Senate, and brought before it the question of public policy, the result being a decision to send envoys to Spain to look into the position of their allies. Should these envoys think that there was adequate cause, they were peremptorily to bid Hannibal not to meddle with the Saguntines, as being allies of Rome, then to cross over into Africa to Carthage and there report the complaints of Rome's allies.

The mission had been resolved upon, but not despatched, when news came sooner than any one could have expected that Saguntum was besieged. At once the matter was again brought before the Senate. Some were for assigning Spain and Africa to the consuls as their provinces, and for making war by sea and land. Others were for bending all their efforts against Spain and Hannibal. Some maintained that they must not move rashly in so serious a crisis, but should await the return of their envoys from Spain. This seemed the safest counsel, and it prevailed. Accordingly the envoys, Publius Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Bæblus Tamphilus, were despatched, without further delay to Hannibal at Saguntum ; thence they were to go to Carthage to demand, unless there was a cessation of hostilities, the surrender of the offending general as a penalty for the violation of the treaty.

*Siege of
Saguntum.*

17. While the Romans were thus preparing and deliberating, Saguntum was already being attacked with the utmost vigour.

It was far the richest city beyond the Ebro, and stood about a mile from the sea. Its inhabitants came originally, it is said, from the island Zacynthus, and mingled with them was an element of Rutulian origin from Ardea. Anyhow, it is certain that they had rapidly risen to their great prosperity by profits that came both from sea and land, by the growth of population, and by that training in a scrupulous honour which made them respect their loyalty as allies even to their own destruction. Hannibal entered their territory with an army prepared for war, and after ravaging their lands far and wide, attacked their city in three divisions.

One angle of their wall looked towards a valley more level and more open than the neighbouring country, and against this he decided to advance his engines, and under their shelter to apply the battering-ram to the ramparts. But although the ground at some distance from the wall was convenient enough for advancing the engines, yet when they came to attack the wall in earnest, the attempt was anything but successful. There was a huge overhanging tower; the wall, too (for the place was known to be weak), was raised above its height in other parts. Then again, as the point was one of conspicuous peril and danger, a picked body of young men opposed there a particularly vigorous resistance. First, they kept off the enemy with missiles and left him no sort of safety, while he was making his advances; next, no longer merely discharging their volleys from the fortifications and the tower, they took courage to rush out upon his outposts and works. In these skirmishes hardly more Saguntines fell than Carthaginians. Hannibal himself, approaching the wall somewhat incautiously, was struck down by a severe wound on his thigh from a javelin, and forthwith there was such consternation and panic everywhere around that the works and engines were all but abandoned.

8. During the next few days, while the general's wound was being treated, there was more of blockade than of active attack. But, though during this interval there was a lull in the fighting, there was no rest from the preparation of works and from engineering labour. And so the contest was renewed with greater fury; approaches began to be made, and the battering-rams applied at a number of points, though some places

BOOK XXI. hardly admitted of their being worked. The Carthaginians had a superabundance of men, having, it is generally believed, a hundred and fifty thousand under arms, while the townspeople had now to dissipate their strength over a wide space in order to guard and watch each point. Their numbers, therefore, were insufficient. The walls, too, which were now being hammered by the battering-rams, had in many places been shattered. At one point a continuous breach had left the city defenceless; three towers in succession and the wall between them had fallen with a great crash. The town, so thought the Carthaginians, was as good as taken after such a downfall. Then, just as if the wall had before screened both combatants alike, besiegers and besieged rushed to battle. This was nothing like one of those irregular fights which commonly occur at assaults on towns, where one side seizes his opportunity; regular lines, drawn up as though in an open plain, took their stand between the ruins of the wall and the houses, which stood not far off. Hope fired one side, despair the other. The Carthaginians thought that, with a very slight effort, they were masters of the place, while the Saguntines barred the way with their bodies to save homes now stripped of their defences, and not a man yielded a foot lest he should let in the enemy to the ground surrendered.

The fiercer the fight, the denser the crowd on either side, the more numerous were the wounded, for not a dart fell without effect amid such a mass of combatants. The Saguntines used the so-called "falarica," a missile with a pinewood shaft, smooth except at the extremity, from which an iron point projected. This, which, as in the "pilum," was of a square form, was bound round with tow and smeared with pitch. The iron point of the weapon was three feet long, such as could pierce straight through the body as well as the armour, and even if it stuck in the shield without penetrating the body, it caused intense panic; discharged as it was with one half of it on fire, and carrying with it a flame fanned by the very motion into greater fury, it made the men throw off their armour, and exposed the soldier to the stroke which followed.

9. After a long undecided struggle, the Saguntines, taking heart because they were holding their ground beyond their hopes, the Carthaginians thinking themselves vanquished

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*Hannibal
refuses to
treat with
the Roman
envoys.*

because they were not victorious, suddenly the townspeople raised a shout, drove the enemy to the ruins of the wall, and thrusting him out thence, entangled and bewildered, finally beat him back in disorderly flight to his camp. Meanwhile came news of the arrival of the envoys from Rome. Hannibal sent men to the sea to meet them with the message that it would not be safe for them to come to him through such a vast host of wild tribes, and that it was not worth his while at such a crisis to be receiving embassies. It was evident that, if not admitted, they would go straight to Carthage. So Hannibal sent off before them some messengers with a letter to the chiefs of the Barcine faction, bidding them prepare the minds of their partisans, that the other party might not have the chance of making any concession to Roman demands.

*Their
reception at
Carthage.*

*Hanno's
advice.*

10. Thus, save that they were received and heard, the mission of the envoys was fruitless and abortive. Hanno alone pleaded for the treaty before the Senate, amid a profound silence due to his personal influence, but not with the approval of his audience. "I charged, I forewarned you" (said he, appealing to the gods who were the arbiters and witnesses of treaties), "not to let Hamilcar's son go to the army. The departed spirit, the race of that man, know no rest. As long as there is a survivor of Barcine blood and name, the treaty with Rome will never be left in peace. You have sent to the army, by way of adding fuel to the flame, a youth burning with the lust of empire, and seeing but one way to its attainment, to start war after war, and to live encompassed with arms and armies. Thus you have fed this fire which is now blazing around you. Your armies are besieging Saguntum, which a treaty forbids them to touch; before long, Rome's legions will be besieging Carthage, led by those same gods through whom in the last war Rome avenged her broken treaties. Is it of the enemy, or of yourselves, or of the fortunes of either people that you are so utterly ignorant? Envoys who come from allies on behalf of allies, your good general has not admitted to his camp; he has made light of international law. Yet these men after being repulsed where even an enemy's envoys are not refused admission, come to you, claiming satisfaction as the treaty directs. To free the State from wrong-doing, they demand the author of the

BOOK XXI.

“offence, the man chargeable with the crime. The more gently they deal, the slower they are to begin, the more persistent, I fear, when they have once begun, will be their wrath. Keep before your eyes the Aegates islands and mount Eryx, and what for twenty-four years you suffered by land and sea. And it was not this boy who was then in command, but the boy’s father, Hamilcar, a second Mars, as his party will have it. But we had not kept our hands off Tarentum, that is, off Italy, as the treaty enjoined, just as now we are not keeping our hands off Saguntum. And so gods and men prevailed, and in the question so long debated, which of the two nations had broken the treaty, the issue of the war, like an impartial arbiter, yielded the triumph to the side on which right stood. It is against Carthage that Hannibal is bringing up his engines and his towers; it is the walls of Carthage that he is shaking with his battering-ram. The ruins of Saguntum (I hope I may be a false prophet) will fall on our heads, and the war begun with the Saguntines must be carried on with the Romans.

“Shall we, then, give up Hannibal? some one will say. I know that my word goes for little in the matter, because of my feud with his father. Still, as I rejoiced at Hamilcar’s death, because we should have had war with Rome had he lived, so, as for this youth, the very fury, I may call him, and firebrand of this conflict, I hate and detest him. Not only do I think that we should give him up to atone for the broken treaty, but that, even if no one demanded, we should transport him to the remotest regions of earth and sea, and banish him to where neither his name nor fame could reach us and trouble the welfare of a peace-loving community. My opinion is that we ought at once to send envoys to Rome with an apology to the Senate, and others to bid Hannibal withdraw his army from Saguntum, and to deliver up the man himself to the Romans, as the treaty directs. And I propose that there be a third embassy to make restitution to the Saguntines.”

11. When Hanno had done speaking, not a single man felt it necessary to answer his speech. Almost the whole Senate was devoted to Hannibal; Hanno, they declared, had spoken more bitterly than Flaccus Valerius, the Roman ambassador. Answer

was then returned to the envoys from Rome. "The war," it was said, "was begun by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal; the Roman people do wrong if they prefer the Saguntines to their very ancient alliance with Carthage." BOOK XXI.

While the Romans were wasting time in sending embassies, Hannibal, finding his soldiers wearied with fighting and siege-works, gave them a few days' rest, posting pickets, however, to guard his engines and other works. Meanwhile he kindled their ardour, now firing them with wrath against the foe, now by the hope of reward. As soon as he had publicly proclaimed that the spoil of the captured city should belong to the soldiers, they were all so excited that, had the signal been that instant given, no strength, it seemed, could have resisted them. The Saguntines, though they had had rest from fighting, and had neither attacked nor been attacked for some days, worked night and day without cessation to build up a new wall on the spot where the fall of the old had laid their town bare. Then they had to face a far fiercer assault than ever, nor could they well judge, with loud discordant cries all about them, where the promptest or the most powerful aid was needed. Hannibal was present in person encouraging his men where they were advancing a movable tower, which exceeded in height any part of the fortifications. As soon as it had been brought up and, by means of the catapults and ballistas ranged on its several stories, had swept the defenders from the ramparts, he thought that the opportunity was come, and sent about five hundred Africans with pickaxes to undermine the wall. This was no difficult work, for the rubble had not been compacted with mortar, but joined only with layers of mud in the fashion of ancient buildings. And so there fell a greater extent of wall than actually received the blows, and through the gaps made by the fall bodies of armed men penetrated into the city. They also seized some high ground, dragged up catapults and ballistas, and inclosed the position with a wall, so as to have in the very heart of the town a fort, dominating it, like a citadel. The Saguntines, on their part, drew an inner wall from the part of the city not yet captured. Both sides toiled and fought with all their might, but in defending the interior of the town the Saguntines every day reduced its dimensions. The scarcity of all necessities increased from the length of the siege, while the

The siege of Saguntum is vigorously pressed.

BOOK XXI. prospect of external aid diminished, as the Romans, their only hope, were so far distant, and the whole country round was in the enemy's hands. Still for a brief space their sinking spirits were revived by Hannibal's sudden departure on an expedition against the Oretani and Carpetani. These two tribes, dismayed at the rigour of the conscription, had detained the recruiting-officers and caused some apprehensions of revolt, but they were overpowered by Hannibal's rapidity, and dismissed all thoughts of war.

12. There was no slackening in the siege of Saguntum, as Maharbal, Himilco's son, whom Hannibal had left in command, pressed the attack so vigorously that the general's absence was felt neither by the Saguntines nor by their foe. Maharbal not only fought some successful engagements but shook down a good part of the walls with three battering-rams, and showed Hannibal on his return the gap all strewn with fresh ruins. Hannibal at once marched his army straight to the citadel; there was a fierce battle with great slaughter on both sides, and part of the citadel was taken.

*Attempts to
negotiate
a peace.*

There was now a feeble hope of peace, and two men, Alcon, of Saguntum, and Alorcus, a Spaniard, tried to realise it. Alcon, thinking to gain something by entreaties, went over to Hannibal by night without the knowledge of the Saguntines; but as tears had no effect, and the hard terms which might be expected from an enraged conqueror were offered, he sank the envoy in the desert, and remained with the enemy, asserting that it would be death to any one to propose peace on such conditions. Hannibal's demands, indeed, were these:—they must make restitution to the Turdetani, surrender all their silver and gold, depart from the city with one garment apiece, and settle wherever the Carthaginians might bid them. When Alcon protested that the Saguntines would not accept such terms of peace Alorcus declared that courage yields when all else yields, and he offered to be the negotiator of a peace. He was then one of Hannibal's soldiers, but he was the recognised guest and friend of the Saguntine community. In the sight of all he gave up his weapon to the enemy's sentries, then crossed the lines, and was conducted at his own request to the Saguntine officers. Instantly there was a rush to the spot of citizens of every class

When the crowd had been pushed aside, Alorcus had an audience before the Senate, and made the following speech:—

13. "Had your fellow-citizen Alcon brought back to you from Hannibal terms of peace, as he went to sue for them, this journey of mine would have been needless, for I have come to you neither as Hannibal's spokesman nor as a deserter. But as Alcon—be the fault his or yours—has chosen to stay with the enemy (his own it is, if he feigned alarm; yours, if it is dangerous to bring back to you a true report), I have now come to you in consideration of the old tie of friendship between us, to let you know that there are certain terms of peace and safety for you. That I am saying what I do say to you for your own sakes and no one else's, this in itself should be sufficient proof that I never mentioned peace to you as long as either your own strength held out or you hoped for aid from Rome. Now that you have no hope from the Romans, and that your arms and walls no longer give you an adequate defence, I bring you a peace which is inevitable rather than favourable. Of this there is some hope on this condition, that to the terms which Hannibal offers as a conqueror, you listen as the conquered, and are prepared to recognise, no loss indeed in what you part with, seeing all is in the victor's hand, but a bounty in whatever is left you. Your city, to a great extent destroyed, and almost wholly in his grasp, he takes from you; your lands he leaves you, and intends to assign you a place where you can build a new town; all your gold and silver, whether the property of the State or of private citizens, he will have brought to him; your own persons and the persons of your wives and children he preserves inviolate, if you are willing to quit Saguntum without arms, with two garments apiece. Such are the terms insisted on by the victorious enemy; grievous and hard, as they are, your plight recommends them to you. For my part I do not despair of some mitigation of them, when Hannibal has once got everything into his power. Yet I maintain that it is better that you should endure even such terms, than be massacred and suffer your wives and children to be seized and dragged into slavery before your eyes under the right of conquest."

14. In the throng that gradually crowded round to hear this speech, the popular assembly had mingled with the Senate, when

BOOK XXI. all in a moment and before an answer had been given the chief citizens withdrew. All the gold and silver belonging to the State or to private persons they collected and flung into a fire hastily lighted for the purpose, and many of them then threw themselves into the flames. Amidst the panic and consternation that this spread through the whole city, a further alarm was heard from the citadel. A tower which had long been tottering had fallen; a body of Carthaginians had rushed through the breach, and signalled to their general that the enemy's town was bare of its usual guards and sentries. Resolved promptly to seize such an opportunity, Hannibal attacked in full force and took the city in a moment. He had given orders for the massacre of all the adult males. Cruel as the order was, it was seen by the issue to have been almost a necessity. Who, in fact, could have been spared out of a population who either shut themselves in with their wives and children, and burnt the houses over their heads, or, with swords in their hands, ceased only to fight when they lay dying?

*Capture of
Saguntum.*

15. The town was taken with an immense booty. Though much of the property had been purposely destroyed by the owners, though in the massacre scarce any distinction of age was recognised by the enemy's fury, and the captives were the soldiers' spoil, still it is certain that what was sold produced a considerable sum, and that much rich furniture and apparel were sent to Carthage.

Some writers say that Saguntum was captured eight months after the commencement of the siege, that Hannibal then retired into winter-quarters at New Carthage, and arrived in Italy five months after his departure from that town. If so, it cannot be that Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius were the consuls to whom the Saguntine envoys were sent at the beginning of the siege, and who were still in office when they fought the battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia with Hannibal, one of them being present at the former, both at the latter. All this either occupied a somewhat shorter time, or Saguntum was taken, instead of its siege having been begun, early in the year in which Cornelius and Sempronius were consuls. For the battle of the Trebia cannot have fallen so late as the year of Servilius or Flaminius, as Flaminius entered on his consulate at Ariminum *

* Rimini.

on the declaration of the consul Sempronius, and Sempronius, who went to Rome after the battle of the Trebia to nominate the consuls, returned to his army in winter-quarters as soon as the election was over. BOOK XXI.

16. It was at almost one and the same moment that the envoys who had returned from Carthage reported that everything tended to war, and that the fall of Saguntum was announced. Grief the most intense, pity for the unmerited destruction of their allies, shame at having rendered them no aid, wrath against the Carthaginians, and alarm for the actual safety of the State, as though the enemy were already at their gates, so mastered the Senate, and so distracted them with the variety of simultaneous emotions, that there was more confusion than counsel among them. A fiercer and more warlike foe they had never had to encounter, nor had Rome ever been so slothful and unwarlike. The Sardi, the Corsi, the Istri, the Illyrii, had annoyed rather than practised the arms of Rome, and with the Gauls there had been skirmishing more than regular war. The Carthaginian, their old enemy, uniformly victorious through three-and-twenty years of the severest fighting amongst the nations of Spain, and trained under a most determined leader, was now crossing the Ebro, fresh from the destruction of one of the richest of cities; with him he was hurrying onward the levies of many Spanish tribes; the nations of Gaul, ever eager for arms, would rise at his bidding; a war with the whole world would have to be fought in Italy, and before the walls of Rome.

Excitement at Rome.

17. The provinces to be assigned to the consuls had been already named; they were now bidden to draw lots for them. Spain fell to Cornelius; Africa with Sicily to Sempronius. Six legions were voted for the year, with such a force of allies as the consuls might think fit, and as large a fleet as could possibly be equipped; of Romans there were enrolled twenty-four thousand infantry, eighteen hundred cavalry; of the allies forty thousand infantry, four thousand and four hundred cavalry, while two hundred and twenty five-banked ships and twenty light galleys were launched.

Preparations for war.

The question was then put to the Commons—Was it their will and pleasure that war should be declared against the people of Carthage? For the war thus sanctioned, public prayers were

offered throughout Rome, and entreaty made to the gods that what the people of Rome had decided might have a good and prosperous issue. The forces were then divided between the consuls. To Sempronius were assigned two legions (these were each four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry), and sixteen thousand of the allied infantry, with eighteen hundred cavalry, one hundred and sixty great war-ships, and twelve light galleys. Sempronius was despatched with these land and sea forces to Sicily, whence he was to cross into Africa, if the other consul proved sufficient to keep the Carthaginians out of Italy. Cornelius had a smaller army, as Lucius Manlius, the prætor, was himself sent to Gaul with a fairly strong force. It was in his fleet that he was weakest; he had but sixty five-banked ships, for it was not believed that the enemy would invade by sea or attempt that kind of warfare. He had also two Roman legions with their proper complement of cavalry, fourteen thousand allied infantry, and sixteen hundred cavalry. The province of Gaul contained two Roman legions, ten thousand allied infantry, a thousand allied and six hundred Roman cavalry, now destined for the same object—the Carthaginian war.

*Second
embassy to
Carthage.*

18. Having completed these preparations the Romans, anxious to insure the due performance of all the proper preliminaries to war, sent as envoys to Africa Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Aemilius, Caius Licinius, Quintus Baebius, all men of venerable age, who were to question the Carthaginians whether Hannibal had attacked Saguntum by order of the State. Should they, as seemed likely, admit and justify the act as done by order of the State, war was to be declared against the Carthaginians.

As soon as the Roman envoys arrived and audience was given them in the Senate, Quintus Fabius asked nothing more than the single question with which he had been intrusted. Thereupon one of the Carthaginians replied: "Your previous embassy, men of Rome, was peremptory enough, when you demanded Hannibal on the assumption that he was attacking Saguntum on his own responsibility; but this embassy, though so far its language is milder, is in reality harder on us. On that occasion it was Hannibal whom you denounced, whose surrender you demanded; now, you want to extort from us a

“confession of wrong-doing, and to claim instant satisfaction on the strength of such confession. I should say that the question ought not to be whether Saguntum was attacked on the responsibility of the State, or of a private citizen, but was the attack just or unjust? It is surely for us to inquire and decide about our own citizen, as to what he may have done on our instance or his own; with you we have only to discuss whether the act was permissible by the treaty. Well, as you wish us to distinguish between what generals do on the State’s responsibility and what on their own, we have a treaty with you which was concluded by your consul, Caius Lutatius, and in this, though it guarded the interests of the allies of both parties, there was no such provision for the Saguntines, who, in fact, were not yet your allies. But you will say, the Saguntines are exempted from attack by the treaty which you concluded with Hasdrubal. Against this I am going to say nothing but what I have learnt from you. You said yourselves that you were not bound by the treaty which Caius Lutatius, your consul, first made with us, because it was made without the sanction of the Senate and the assent of the Commons, and accordingly another treaty was concluded with the sanction of the State. If you are not bound by your own treaties unless they are made with your full sanction and assent, assuredly we cannot accept the obligation of Hasdrubal’s treaty, which he made without our knowledge. So cease to talk of Saguntum and the Ebro, and let your hearts at last give birth to the project of which they have long been in labour.”

Upon this the Roman gathered his robe into a fold, and said: “Here we bring you peace and war; take which you please.” Instantly on the word rose a shout as fierce: “Give us which you please.” The Roman, in reply, shook out the fold, and spoke again: “I give you war.” The answer from all was; “We accept it, and in the spirit with which we accept it, will we wage it.”

19. This straightforward question and declaration of war seemed to suit the dignity of the Roman people better than a debate about treaty obligations. So it seemed before, and more than ever now that Saguntum was destroyed. Had it indeed been a matter to debate, how could Hasdrubal’s treaty be properly compared with the earlier treaty of Lutatius, the one which

*War
declared.*

BOOK XXI. was changed? For in that treaty there was an express clause that it was to be binding only on condition of being voted by the Commons, while in Hasdrubal's treaty there was no such exception, and the silence of so many years during his life-time had so thoroughly ratified it that even after its author's death it was not altered in the least. Still, if they were to stand by the first treaty, the Saguntines were quite enough protected, as the allies of both nations were exempted from attack. Nor was there a word to the effect, "those who were then allies," or "not such as may be taken into alliance hereafter." And as it was permitted to make new allies, who could think it fair that they should admit no one into their friendship, whatever his services, or that having received people under their protection they should not defend them, always provided that the allies of the Carthaginians were not either to be excited to revolt, or received as allies should they revolt of themselves?

*The Roman
envoys visit
Spain with
but little
result.*

The Roman envoys, following the instructions given them at Rome, crossed from Carthage into Spain with the view of visiting the Spanish states and drawing them into alliance, or at least alienating them from the Carthaginians. First they came to the Bargusii, who, being weary of Carthaginian rule, received them favourably, and thus they roused a craving for a change of condition among several tribes beyond the Ebro. Then they went to the Volciani, whose answer, becoming famous throughout Spain, set the other tribes against the Roman alliance. Their oldest man gave the following reply in their Council: "Where, Romans, is your sense of shame that you ask us to prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians, when those who have done so have been betrayed more cruelly by you, their allies, than they have been destroyed by the Carthaginian foe? Seek you allies, so I say, where men have never heard of the destruction of Saguntum, as the ruins of that city are a warning, as conspicuous as it is grievous, to the tribes of Spain not to trust in any case to Roman faith and alliance." They were told instantly to quit the territory of the Volciani, and from not a single assembly in Spain did they subsequently get a more favourable answer.

20. Having thus travelled through Spain with no result, they passed into Gaul. Here they witnessed a strange and alarming

*They go into
Gaul, but get no
encouragement
except
at Massilia.*

sight. The people came armed to the assembly—their national custom. When the envoys extolled the glory and valour of the Roman people, and the greatness of their empire, and demanded that they should not grant the Carthaginian in his invasion of Italy a passage through their country and its towns, there was such a burst, it is said, of hooting and laughter, that the magistrates and the elders could hardly quiet the younger men ; so senseless and impudent a request it seemed, to propose that the Gauls, rather than let the war pass into Italy, should draw it upon themselves, and offer their own lands to the spoiler to save those of others. At last the uproar was hushed, and this answer was given to the envoys : “ That the Romans had done them no “ service, the Carthaginians no injury, in return for which they “ need either take up arms for Rome or against Carthage. On “ the other hand, they heard that men of their own race were “ being driven from the lands and borders of Italy by the “ Roman people, and were paying tribute and suffering other “ indignities.”

Marseilles.

Much the same was said and heard in all the other assemblies throughout Gaul, and not a friendly or even tolerably peaceful answer was received until they came to Massilia. There they got all the information which their allies had carefully and faithfully acquired for them ; that already Hannibal had gained a hold on the minds of the Gauls, but that even he would not find the nation sufficiently tractable (so fierce and untamable was its temper) unless he further won the affections of the chiefs with gold, of which the Gaul is intensely greedy. So the envoys, after visiting the tribes of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome soon after the departure of the Consuls to their provinces. They found the whole city excited by its anticipation of war, all accounts agreeing that the Carthaginians had crossed the Ebro.

21. After the taking of Saguntum Hannibal had withdrawn into winter-quarters at New Carthage. Hearing there what had been done and decided on at Rome and at Carthage, and that he was himself the cause of the war as well as its leader, he divided and distributed the remainder of the booty in the conviction that there must be no further delay. He then called together his soldiers of Spanish blood.

“ I think,” said he, “ that you, my allies, can see for yourselves

BOOK XXI.

*Hannibal
lets his
Spanish
soldiers go
home on
furlough.*

"that, now that we have reduced all the tribes of Spain, we must
"end our campaigns and disband our army, or else carry the
"war into other countries. For only by our seeking spoil and
"glory from other nations will these tribes enjoy the fruits of
"victory as well as of peace. And so, as you are about to engage
"in a war far away from your homes, and it is uncertain when you
"will again see those homes and all that is there dear to you, I
"grant leave of absence to any one who wishes to visit his kin-
"dred. I bid you be present in early spring, that with the gods'
"good help we may begin what will be a war of prodigious
"glory and recompense."

All or nearly all welcomed the spontaneous offer of an opportunity to visit their homes ; even then they had a longing to see their kindred, and they foresaw a longing more protracted in time to come. Rest during the entire winter between toils that already had been or were soon to be endured, renewed both body and mind with strength to encounter afresh every hardship.

*Hannibal's
preparations.*

Early in spring they assembled according to orders. After reviewing each tribe's contingent, Hannibal went to Gades, where he paid a vow to Hercules, and bound himself by fresh vows should his other schemes prosper. Then dividing his attention between a war of attack and a war of defence, he resolved on securing Sicily by a strong force, so that Africa might not be open and exposed to the Romans on that side, while he was himself advancing on Italy overland through Spain and Gaul. To take the place of these troops Hannibal demanded for himself reinforcements from Africa, chiefly of light-armed spearmen, so that Africans might serve in Spain and Spaniards in Africa, each set of soldiers being likely to fight better away from home, as under the influence, so to speak, of mutual obligations. To Africa he sent off thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty infantry with light leathern shields, eight hundred and seventy Balearic slingers, and twelve hundred cavalry, made up from a number of tribes. These forces were by his order partly to garrison Carthage, partly to be dispersed throughout Africa. He likewise sent recruiting officers into the states, and having raised a levy of four thousand picked youth, directed that they should be marched to Carthage, to serve both as garrison troops and as hostages.

22. Spain, too, Hannibal felt, must not be forgotten, the less so indeed as he was well aware that the Roman envoys had travelled through the country to sound the temper of the chiefs. So he assigned the province to his brother Hasdrubal, a thoroughly energetic man, and secured it with troops, mainly African, that is, with eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty infantry of African race, three hundred Ligurians, and five hundred Baliarians. To this auxiliary infantry were added four hundred and fifty Liby-phœnician cavalry, a race this of mingled Carthaginian and African blood, with Numidians and Moors, dwellers on the shores of the ocean, to the number of eight hundred, and a small body of Ilergetes from Spain, consisting of two hundred cavalry, and, that no description of land force might be wanting, twenty-one elephants. Hasdrubal had also a fleet given him to defend the coast, fifty five-banked, two four-banked, and five three-banked ships, for it might well be believed that now again the Romans would wage war on the element on which they had already been successful. But of these only thirty-two five-banked, with the five three-banked ships were furnished and equipped with crews.

From Gades Hannibal returned to the winter-quarters of his army at New Carthage. Thence he led his men by the coast past the town of Onusa to the Ebro. There he saw in a dream, so the story goes, a youth of godlike shape, who said that he had been sent by Jupiter to conduct the army of Hannibal into Italy ; that he was therefore to follow and nowhere turn his eyes away from him. At first Hannibal followed trembling, neither looking around nor behind ; after a while, with the natural curiosity of the human mind, as he thought what it could be on which he was forbidden to look back, he could not restrain his eyes ; he then saw behind him a serpent of marvellous size moving onwards with a fearful destruction of trees and bushes ; close after this followed a storm-cloud with crashing thunder. When he asked what was the monster and what the portent meant, he was told it was "the devastation of Italy ; let him go straight "on and ask no more questions, and leave the fates in "darkness."

*Hannibal's
dream.*

23. Cheered by the vision, he crossed the Ebro with his army in three divisions, after having first despatched messengers

BOOK XXI.

*He crosses the
Ebro, leaving
Hanno to guard
the passes
between Spain
and Gaul.*

with gifts to gain the goodwill of the Gauls in the regions which his army had to cross, and to reconnoitre the passes of the Alps. It was with ninety thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry that he crossed the Ebro. Then he reduced the Ilergetes, the Bargusii, and the Ausetani, and also Lacetania, a district at the foot of the Pyrenees. All this country he put in charge of Hanno, who was to have the control of the passes connecting Spain and Gaul. Hanno had ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry given him to garrison the district which he was to hold. At this point, as soon as the army began its march through the defiles of the Pyrenees, and more distinct rumours of war with Rome had spread through the barbarian host, three thousand infantry of the Carpetani left him. It was understood that what alarmed them was not so much the war as the long march and the hopelessness of the passage of the Alps. As to recall or detain them by force would have been a dangerous experiment, likely to exasperate the wild tempers of his other allies, Hannibal sent back to their homes more than seven thousand men, whom he had also perceived to be weary of the service, and he pretended that even the Carpetani had been dismissed by his own act.

*Crosses the
Pyrenees.*

* Elne.

*Attitude of the
Gauls.*

24. Then, that his men might not feel the temptation of delay or inaction, he crossed the Pyrenees and encamped at the town of Iliberri.* Though the Gauls understood that the war was directed against Italy, yet, as it was rumoured that the Spaniards beyond the Pyrenees had been reduced by force and strong garrisons set over them, some of the tribes were roused to arms by the dread of enslavement, and assembled at Ruscino. Hannibal on being told of this, as he feared delay more than defeat, sent envoys to their chiefs, to say that he wished to have a personal interview with them; they might either come nearer to Iliberri, or he would himself go to Ruscino; thus brought nearer together they could meet more easily. "I will gladly," he added, "receive you in my camp, or I will go myself to you without hesitation, for I have come as a friend, not an enemy to the Gauls, and will not draw sword, unless the Gauls compel me, till I reach Italy." Such was the message conveyed by the envoys. But when the Gallic chiefs, instantly moving their camp to Iliberri, came without any reluctance to Hannibal, it was by his gifts that they were persuaded to let his

*They do not
oppose Hannibal.*

army march perfectly unmolested through their territories past the town of Ruscino. BOOK XXI.

25. In Italy meanwhile nothing was known but the bare fact, reported at Rome by envoys from Massilia,* that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro. At that moment, just as if it was the Alps that had been crossed, the Boii, after sounding the Insubres, revolted, not so much from old animosities against Rome, as because they were annoyed at the recent establishment of the colonies of Placentia† and Cremona near the Po in Gallic territory. Suddenly they flew to arms, burst into the territory in dispute and spread such dismay and confusion that even the three Roman commissioners who had come to assign the lands, Caius Lutatius, Caius Servilius, and Marcus Annius, as well as the rural population, dared not trust themselves to the walls of Placentia, and took refuge in Mutina.‡ About the name of Lutatius there is no question; for Annius and Servilius some chronicles give the names of Acilius and Herennius, others those of Cornelius Asina and Papirius Maso. There is some doubt too whether the envoys sent to remonstrate with the Boii were insulted, or whether the commissioners, as they were measuring the lands, were attacked. While they were besieged in Mutina, and the Gauls, a people quite ignorant of the science of assaulting towns and very indolent in all military operations, sat idle without attempting to assail the walls, sham negotiations for peace were begun; the envoys were summoned by the Gallic chiefs to a conference, and there, contrary to all international law, and in actual violation of the pledge given for the special occasion, were arrested, the Gauls declaring that they would not let them go unless their own hostages were restored.

On hearing of this treatment of the envoys and of the danger of Mutina and its garrison, the prætor, Lucius Manlius, burning with anger, marched in loose order to the place. The road at that time was surrounded with woods, and most of the country was wild. Manlius advanced without reconnoitring, and fell headlong into an ambuscade, out of which he struggled with difficulty into open ground after great loss to his men. There he fortified a camp, and as the Gauls lacked confidence to assail it, the spirits of his soldiers revived, though it was understood that as many as five hundred had fallen. He then began his

* Marseilles.

Revolt of the Boii.

† Piacenza.

‡ Modena.

Roman disaster

BOOK XXI. march afresh, nor did the enemy show himself as long as the troops advanced over open ground; but as soon as the woods were once more entered, the Gauls fell on the rear, spread the greatest confusion and panic through all the army, and cut down seven hundred men, capturing also six standards. When they were once clear of the pathless and intricate forest, the Gauls ceased to terrify and the Romans to feel alarm. Thence through open country, where they marched easily and safely, they pushed on to Tannetum,* a district close to the Po. There protected by temporary intrenchments and the windings of the river, with the help too of the Brixian Gauls, they defended themselves against the daily increasing multitude of the enemy.

* Near Parma.

26. As soon as this sudden outbreak was reported at Rome, and the Senate heard that a war with the Gauls was added to the war with Carthage, Caius Atilius, the prætor, was ordered to reinforce Manlius with one Roman legion and five thousand allies, newly levied by the consul. Manlius reached Tannetum without any fighting, as the enemy had retired in alarm.

*Arrival of
Cornelius Scipio
at Massilia.*

Publius Cornelius too, having raised a new legion in place of that which had been despatched with the prætor, sailed from Rome with sixty war ships along the coasts of Etruria and Liguria, and thence past the mountains of the Salyes, and so arrived at Massilia. He pitched his camp at the nearest mouth of the Rhone, for that river divides itself into several streams as it flows into the sea. He then encamped, hardly believing that Hannibal had yet crossed the Pyrenees. When, however, he understood that he was actually meditating the passage of the Rhone, as he did not know where he might meet him, and his soldiers were not properly recovered from the fatigue of the voyage, he sent forward meanwhile three hundred picked cavalry with some guides from Massilia, and from the friendly Gauls to reconnoitre the whole country and get a safe view of the enemy.

By this time Hannibal had reached the territory of the Volcæ, a powerful tribe, after having frightened or bribed all their neighbours into submission. They dwell on both banks of the Rhone; but not feeling confidence that they could keep the Carthaginian out of the territory nearest him, and anxious to have the stream as a defence, they crossed the river with almost their whole tribe, and occupied the further bank in arms. The other

*Hannibal
prepares to cross
the Rhone.*

tribes by the Rhone, and all even of this same tribe who had clung to their homes, Hannibal bribed into collecting and building vessels, and it was indeed their own wish that his army should cross and thereby relieve their lands from the pressure of such a multitude. Thus an immense number of vessels and boats, carelessly constructed for use on the spot, was brought together. Then, too, the Gauls setting the example of making fresh boats, which they hollowed out from single trees, the soldiers also, tempted by the abundance of timber and the ease of the work, hastily shaped out some clumsy hulks to convey themselves and their belongings to the other side, satisfied if only these could float and hold a cargo.

27. And now all was fairly ready for the passage, while facing them stood the enemy in menacing array, cavalry and infantry, occupying the entire bank. To distract their attention Hannibal ordered Hanno, son of Bomilear, to go with part of the army, chiefly Spaniards, one day's march up the stream, starting at the first watch of the night, to cross the river on the first opportunity as stealthily as possible, and taking a circuit to fall on the enemy's rear at the required moment. The Gallic guides provided for the purpose, told him that, about twenty-five miles higher up, the river encircled a little island, and could be crossed at the point of division, where the channel was broader and consequently shallower. At this place timber was felled in eager haste, and rafts constructed for the passage of men and horses and other cargo. The Spaniards, without any trouble, threw their clothes on to bladders, laid their light shields on these, and resting on them swam the stream. The rest of the army crossed on a bridge of rafts; having encamped close to the river they recruited themselves by a day's repose after the fatigue of their night's march and laborious work, while their general watched intently the opportunity of executing his plan.

*Passage of the
river.*

Next day they advanced, and showed by some smoke from an eminence that they had crossed and were not far off. Hannibal seeing this, not to miss his opportunity, gave the signal for crossing. His infantry now had their light boats ready and in order, and his cavalry had larger rafts chiefly on account of the horses. A line of vessels was thrown across higher up to sustain the force of the current, and so gave smooth water to the

BOOK XXI. boats which were crossing below ; many of the horses as they swam were towed by leathern thongs from the sterns, beside those which had been put on board, saddled and bridled and ready for their riders as soon as they had landed.

28. The Gauls on the bank rushed at them with all manner of cries and their customary war songs, waving their shields over their heads and brandishing javelins in their right hands, though confronting them was this threatening array of vessels, with the terrific roar of the water and the confused shouts of sailors and soldiers, some of whom were struggling to stem the force of the stream, while others on the opposite shore were cheering on their comrades as they crossed. Scared as they were already at the alarming scene before their eyes, a yet more appalling din fell on their ears from the rear, where Hanno had taken their camp. In another moment he was himself on the spot ; on either side they were beset with peril, for a vast array of armed men was landing from the vessels, and a host was unexpectedly pressing them in their rear. The Gauls repulsed in their attempt to fight a double battle, broke through where the way seemed most open, and fled in wild panic to their villages. Hannibal crossed with the rest of his army at his leisure, and encamped, henceforth heartily despising any menaces from the Gauls.

*Passage of the
elephants.*

For the passage of the elephants there were, I believe, various devices. At any rate there are various traditions how it was accomplished. Some say that the elephants were crowded together on the bank, that here the fiercest of them was provoked by its driver, pursued the man as he retreated into the water, and drew the whole herd after it ; afterwards the simple force of the stream carried them all to the opposite bank, as one by one in their terror at the depth they lost their footing. It is, however more generally understood that they were transported on rafts ; such a plan would have seemed safer beforehand, as afterwards it is certainly more credible. A raft two hundred feet long and fifty broad was extended from the bank into the water, and, to save it from being carried down the stream, it was attached to a point up the river by a number of strong hawsers, and then covered like a bridge with a layer of earth, so that the beasts might walk on it as confidently as if it was firm ground. To this was fastened another raft of equal breadth, a hundred feet

long, suitable for being ferried across ; then the elephants were driven, the females taking the lead, along the stationary raft, as if it were a road. When they had passed on to the smaller raft attached to it, the ropes with which this was slightly fastened were instantly untied, and it was towed to the opposite bank by some light craft. In this way as soon as the first had been landed, the rest were fetched and conveyed across. They showed no alarm while they were moving on what seemed a bridge connected with the land ; the first panic was when the raft was detached from its surroundings, and they were carried into the deep channel. Then pressing one on another, as those on the edge drew back from the water, they showed decided signs of terror, till their very fear at the sight of the water all around them made them quiet. Some in their fury fell off into the stream, but their weight kept them steady, and shaking off their drivers and feeling their way into shallow water they reached land.

29. During the passage of the elephants, Hannibal sent five hundred Numidian cavalry to the Roman camp to reconnoitre and ascertain the position, the strength and the plans of their army. The three hundred Roman cavalry which had been despatched, as before related, from the mouth of the Rhone, fell in with this squadron. A battle, fierce out of proportion to the number of the combatants, ensued. There were many wounded and an almost equal number killed on both sides, and the Romans were thoroughly exhausted when the flight and panic of the Numidians gave them the victory. Of the victors there fell about a hundred and sixty, not all Romans, some being Gauls ; of the vanquished more than two hundred. Here was at once a prelude and an omen of the war, portending indeed to Rome success in the final issue, but a victory far from bloodless, to be won after a doubtful struggle.

*Sharp cavalry
skirmish between
the Romans and
Numidians.*

On the return of the men after this battle to their respective generals, Scipio could form no resolution but to take his plans from the designs and movements of the enemy, and Hannibal also was in doubt whether he should persist in the advance towards Italy which he had begun, or should fight the Roman army, which had been the first to encounter him. He was deterred from immediate battle by the arrival of envoys from the

BOOK XXI. Boii, and their chief Magalus, who declared that they would be his guides in all his marches, and his comrades in danger, while they maintained that he must attack Italy with all the resources of his arms and with strength unimpaired. The mass indeed of the army dreaded the enemy, for they had not yet forgotten the last war, but they feared still more the endless march over the Alps, which rumours had made terrible, at any rate to the inexperienced.

*Hannibal
encourages his
men.*

30. Hannibal accordingly, his resolve being now fixed to pursue his march and to advance on Italy, assembled his men and worked on their feelings by the various methods of reproof and encouragement. "I wonder," said he, "what sudden panic can have seized hearts ever fearless? For many a year have you fought and conquered; nor did you quit Spain till all the tribes and countries embraced between two distant seas were under Carthaginian sway. Then, in your wrath at the demand of the Roman people for the surrender as criminals of the besiegers of Saguntum, whoever they might be, you crossed the Ebro to blot out the name of Rome and to give freedom to the world. Not a man of you thought the march too long, which you were then beginning, from the setting to the rising sun; now, when you see far the greatest portion of it actually traversed—the passes of the Pyrenees amid the fiercest tribes surmounted—the Rhone, that broad river, crossed in the face of many thousand Gauls, and the very force of the stream itself vanquished—when you have in sight the Alps the other side of which is in Italy—here, at the very gates of the enemy, you are halting in weariness. What do you imagine the Alps to be but mountain-heights? Suppose them to be loftier than the ranges of the Pyrenees, surely there is no spot on earth which touches heaven or is an insuperable barrier to man. As for the Alps, they are inhabited and cultivated; they produce and rear living creatures; their gorges are passable for armies. Those very envoys, whom you see, were not wafted aloft on wings across them; neither were their ancestors natives of the country; they were foreign settlers in Italy, who often in vast troops, with their wives and children, and is the habit of emigrants, safely crossed these very Alps. To the armed soldier, who carries nought but the implements of war

"what is impassable or insurmountable? What danger, what toil for six months did we not undergo to take Saguntum? Aiming as we are at Rome, the capital of the world, can we think anything so formidable and arduous as to delay our enterprise? The Gauls once captured what the Carthaginian despairs of approaching. Either then yield in spirit and in valour to a people whom in these days you have so repeatedly vanquished, or look forward to the plain between the Tiber and the walls of Rome as the goal of your expedition."

He marches up the Rhone.

31. Having inspirited them with these words of encouragement Hannibal bade them refresh themselves and prepare for their march. Next day he advanced up the Rhone towards the interior of Gaul, not because this was the more direct route to the Alps, but thinking that the further he withdrew from the sea, the less likely he was to encounter the Romans, whom it was not his intention to engage till his arrival in Italy. In four days' march he reached the Island. Here the Isère and the Rhone, which pour down their waters from Alpine summits far apart, and embrace a large stretch of country, unite in one stream, and the plains between have received the name of the Island. In the neighbourhood are settled the Allobroges, a tribe even at that time inferior to none of the tribes of Gaul in resources or renown. They were then at strife. Two brothers were contending for the throne. The elder, who had previously been king, Brancus by name, was now being thrust aside by his younger brother, and a party of the younger men, who had more might than right on their side. The settlement of the feud was very opportunely referred to Hannibal, and he having thus to dispose of the kingdom restored the elder brother to power, such having been the feeling of the senate and the chiefs. For this service he was helped with supplies and an abundance of all things, clothing especially, which the notorious horrors of the cold in the Alps compelled him to provide.

Settles a feud among the Allobroges.

Having composed the feuds of the Allobroges, Hannibal marched towards the Alps, not, however, pursuing a direct course, but turning leftwards to the country of the Tricastini, from which again he passed to that of the Tricorii, along the extreme frontier of the Vocontii, a route at no point embarrassing till he reached the river Druentia.* One of the rivers of the Alps,

* Durance.

BOOK XXI. it is naturally far the most difficult to cross of all the streams in Gaul; for though it rushes down with a vast body of water, it is not navigable, not being confined within banks, and flowing in many channels at once, and these not always the same. Its ever-changing shallows and eddies, which make the passage perplexing even to one on foot, and the rocks and gravelly bed over which it rolls, allow no sure and safe foothold; and at this time it happened to be swollen by rains, and so caused much confusion among the men as they crossed—a confusion increased by other alarms and by their own hurry and bewildered cries.

Scipio fails to overtake Hannibal, and returns to his fleet.

32. About three days after Hannibal had moved from the Rhone, the consul Publius Cornelius reached the enemy's camp with his army in order of battle, resolved to fight without a moment's delay. Seeing, however, that the lines were abandoned and that the enemy must be too far ahead to be easily overtaken, he went back to the sea and to his ships, assured that he could thus more safely and conveniently encounter Hannibal on his descent from the Alps. But not to leave Spain, his allotted province, bare of Roman defence, he sent his brother Cneius Scipio with the largest part of his army against Hasdrubal, not merely to protect our old allies and form fresh alliances, but actually to drive Hasdrubal out of the country. Scipio himself with quite a small force returned to Genua, purposing to defend Italy with the troops encamped in the neighbourhood of the Po.

Passage of the Alps.

From the Druentia Hannibal marched through a country generally flat to the Alps, wholly unmolested by the Gauls in those parts. And then, though rumour which usually magnifies the unknown far beyond truth, had given some anticipation of the facts, still the near sight of the mountain-heights with their snows almost mingling with the sky, the rude huts perched on the rocks, cattle and beasts of burden shrivelled with cold, human beings unkempt and wild, and all things animate and inanimate stiffened with frost, with other scenes more horrible to behold than to describe, revived their terror.

As the vanguard was struggling up the first slopes, the mountain tribes showed themselves on the overhanging hills. Had they lain hid in some of the obscurer valleys and suddenly rushed out to the attack, they must have caused terrible panic

and loss. Hannibal ordered a halt ; the Gauls were sent on to reconnoitre, and when he ascertained that here there was no passage for his troops, he pitched his camp in the broadest valley he could find, where all around was rugged and precipitous. Then from those same Gauls, mingling and conversing with the mountaineers, whom indeed in language and manners they resembled, he learnt that it was only by day that the pass was barred, and that at night all dispersed to their various dwellings. With early dawn he advanced to the foot of the hills, as if he meant to push his way by force in open day through the defiles. In this feint, preparing a movement not really intended, the day was spent, and the camp was fortified on the spot on which it had been pitched. But the moment Hannibal saw the mountaineers coming down from the hills and the outposts weakly manned, he had a multitude of fires lit for show, greater than would correspond with the number of troops in camp, and then leaving behind him the baggage with the cavalry as well as the greater part of the infantry, and taking with him some lightly armed men, the bravest he could pick, he rapidly mounted the passes and established himself on the very hills which the enemy had occupied.

*Attacks of the
mountaineers.*

33. At daybreak the camp was broken up and the rest of the army began to move. The mountaineers on a signal given were now gathering in force from their fortresses to one of their regular positions, when suddenly they saw the enemy, some on the heights over their heads and in possession of their own stronghold, the remainder marching through the pass. The double impression thus made on their sight and imagination, held them for a brief while rooted to the earth. Soon, when they saw the hurry in the defiles and how the army was in utter confusion from its own disorder, the horses especially being wild with fright, they thought that, could they in any way increase the panic, it would insure the enemy's destruction, and they rushed down the face of the rocks they knew so well, whether along pathless steeps or obscure tracks. Then indeed both the foe and the perils of the place fought against the Carthaginians, and while every man strove for himself to get soonest out of danger, there was more struggling among the soldiers themselves than between them and the enemy. The horses were the most

BOOK XXI. dangerous hindrance to the army. They were terrified and scared by the confused cries which the woods and echoing valleys further multiplied, and if they chanced to be struck and wounded, in the wildness of their terror they made fearful havoc alike among the men and the baggage of every description. The pressure, too, in the defile, each side of which was a sheer precipice, hurled numbers down to an immense depth, and among them were soldiers with their accoutrements ; but it was more particularly the beasts with their burdens, which rolled down with just such a crash as a falling house.

Horrible as all this was to behold, Hannibal halted a while and kept his men in their ranks, so as not to aggravate the disorder and panic, and then, as soon as he saw a break in the line, and the danger that the army might accomplish the passage safely indeed but to no purpose, because stripped of all their baggage, he hurried down from his position on the heights and routed the enemy, but at the same time increased the confusion of his own troops. This confusion, however, was quieted in a moment when the flight of the mountaineers left the roads clear, and all soon marched through the pass not merely in peace but almost in silence. Next he took a fortress, the capital of the district, and some villages in the neighbourhood, and fed his troops for three days on the corn and cattle he had seized. In those three days he accomplished a considerable march, as there was not much hindrance from the ground or from the mountaineers, whom they had cowed at the outset.

*Peril of the
army.*

34. Then they reached a canton, which, for a mountain district, was densely peopled. Here Hannibal was all but cut off, not by open fighting, but by his own peculiar arts, treachery and ambuscade. Some old men, governors of the fortresses, came to him as envoys, with assurances that warned by the salutary examples of the misfortunes of others, they preferred to make trial of the friendship rather than of the might of the Carthaginians ; that thereupon they would obediently do his bidding ; and they begged him to accept supplies, guides for his march and hostages as a guarantee of their promises. Hannibal feeling that he must not either rashly trust or slight them lest refusal might make them open enemies, gave them a gracious answer. He accepted the offered hostages, and used the

supplies which they had themselves brought to the road, but he followed the guides with his army in fighting order, not as if he was among a friendly people. His van was formed of the elephants and cavalry, while he marched himself in the rear with the main strength of the infantry, anxiously reconnoitring at every step. The moment they entered a narrow pass, dominated on one side by an overhanging height, the barbarians sprang out of their ambuscades in every direction, attacking in front and rear, discharging missiles and coming to close quarters, and rolling down huge stones upon the army. It was on the rear that the enemy pressed in greatest force. The infantry-column wheeled and faced him; but it was proved beyond a doubt that, had not the rear been well strengthened, a terrible disaster would have been sustained in that pass. Even as it was, they were brought to the extremest jeopardy, and were within a hairsbreadth of destruction. For while Hannibal was hesitating about sending his men into the defile because, though he could himself support the cavalry, he had no reserve in his rear for the infantry, the mountaineers rushed on his flanks, and having cut his line in half barred his advance. One might he had to pass without his cavalry and his baggage.

35. Next day, as the barbarians were less active in their attacks, the army was again united, and fought its way through the pass, but not without loss, which, however, fell more heavily on the beasts of burden than on the men. From this point the mountaineers became less numerous; hovering round more like brigands than soldiers, they threatened now the van, now the rear, whenever the ground gave them a chance, or stragglers in advance or behind offered an opportunity. The elephants, though it was a tedious business to drive them along the narrow precipitous passes, at least protected the troops from the enemy wherever they went, inspiring as they did, a peculiar fear in all who were unused to approach them.

On the ninth day they reached the top of the Alps, passing for the most part over trackless steeps, and by devious ways, into which they were led by the treachery of their guides. Two days they encamped on the height, and the men, worn out with hardships and fighting, were allowed to rest. Some beasts of burden too which had fallen down among the crags, found

*They reach the
summit of the
pass.*

BOOK XXI. their way to the camp by following the army's track. The men were already worn out and wearied with their many miseries, when a fall of snow coming with the setting of the Pleiades added to their sufferings a terrible fear. At daybreak the march commenced, and as the army moved wearily over ground all buried in snow, languor and despair were visibly written on every face, when Hannibal stepped to the front, and having ordered a halt on a peak which commanded a wide and distant prospect, pointed to Italy and to the plains round the Po, as they lay beneath the heights of the Alps, telling his men, "'Tis the walls not of Italy only but of Rome itself that you are now scaling. What remains," he added, "will be a smooth descent ; in one, or at the most, in two battles we shall have the citadel and capital of Italy in our grasp and power."

Italy in view.

Difficulty of the descent.

The army then began to advance, and now even the enemy attempted nothing but some stealthy ambuscades, as opportunity offered. The remainder, however, of the march proved far more difficult than the ascent, as the Alps for the most part on the Italian side have a shorter and therefore a steeper slope. In fact the whole way was precipitous, narrow, and slippery, so much so that they could not keep themselves from falling, nor could those who had once stumbled retain their foothold. Thus they tumbled one over another and the beasts of burden over the men.

36. Next they came to a much narrower pass with walls of rock so perpendicular that a light-armed soldier could hardly let himself down by feeling his way, and grasping with his hands the bushes and roots sticking out around him. The place, old was naturally precipitous, and now by a recent landslip had been broken away sheer to a depth of a thousand feet. Here the cavalry halted, as if it must be the end of their route, and Hannibal wondering what delayed the march, was told that the rock was impassable. Then he went himself to examine the spot. There seemed to be no doubt that he must lead his army round by pathless and hitherto untrodden slopes, however tedious might be the circuit. This route, however, was impracticable ; while indeed on last season's still unmelted snow lay a fresh layer of moderate depth. The foot of the first comer found a good hold on the soft and not very deep drift, but when

had been once trampled down under the march of such a host of men and beasts, they had to walk on the bare ice beneath, and the liquid mud from the melting snow. Here there was a horrible struggle. The slippery ice allowed no firm foothold, and indeed betrayed the foot all the more quickly on the slope, so that whether a man helped himself to rise by his hands or knees, his supports gave way, and he fell again. And here there were no stalks or roots to which hand or foot could cling. Thus there was incessant rolling on nothing but smooth ice or slush of snow. The beasts broke through, occasionally treading down even to the very lowest layer of snow, and when they fell, as they wildly struck out with their hoofs in their efforts to rise, they cut clean to the bottom, till many of them stuck fast in the hard and deep frozen ice, as if caught in a trap.

37. At last, when both men and beasts were worn out with fruitless exertion, they encamped on a height, in a spot which with the utmost difficulty they had cleared; so much snow had to be dug out and removed. The soldiers were then marched off to the work of making a road through the rock, as there only was a passage possible. Having to cut into the stone, they heaped up a huge pile of wood from great trees in the neighbourhood, which they had felled and lopped. As soon as there was strength enough in the wind to create a blaze they lighted the pile, and melted the rocks, as they heated, by pouring vinegar on them. The burning stone was cleft open with iron implements, and then they relieved the steepness of the slopes by gradual winding tracks, so that even the elephants as well as the other beasts could be led down. Four days were spent in this rocky pass, and the beasts almost perished of hunger, as the heights generally are quite bare, and such herbage as grows is buried in snow. Amid the lower slopes were valleys, sunny hills too, and streams, and woods beside them, and spots now at last more worthy to be the habitations of man. Here they sent the beasts to feed, and the men worn out with the toil of road making, were allowed to rest. In the next three days they reached level ground, and now the country was less wild, as was also the character of the inhabitants.

*The rocks melted
with vinegar
and fire.*

*They reach the
lower valleys.*

38. Such on the whole was the march which brought them to Italy, in the fifth month, according to some authors, after

BOOK XXI.

*The numbers
of Hannibal's
army.*

leaving New Carthage, the passage of the Alps having occupied fifteen days. As to the numbers of Hannibal's army on his arrival in Italy, historians are not agreed. The highest reckoning is a hundred thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry; the lowest twenty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. Cincius Alimentus, who tells us that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would have the greatest weight with me, did he not confuse the numbers by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. Including these there arrived eighty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, though it is more probable that they flocked to his standard in Italy; and so some writers state. Cincius says that Hannibal himself told him that, after crossing the Rhone, he lost thirty-six thousand men, and a vast number of horses and beasts of burden. The tribe that he first encountered on his descent into Italy were the Taurini, a half Gallic race. About this all agree, and therefore I am the more surprised at there being a controversy as to where Hannibal crossed the Alps, and at the vulgar belief that he marched over the Poenine Pass, and that the range thence got its name. I wonder, too, that Caelius says that he crossed by the heights of Cremo. Both these passes would have brought him, not to the Taurini, but through other mountain tribes to the Libuan Gauls. Nor is it likely that those routes to Gaul were then open; certainly those which lead to the Poenine would have been barred by tribes of half German race. And assuredly these mountains, according to the Seduni and Veragri, the inhabitants of the range, did not get their name, if such an argument has any weight, from any passage of the Poeni, but from the deity to whom the summit is sacred, and whom the mountaineers call Poeninus.

*The passes by
which he crossed.*

*Hannibal gives
his soldiers rest.*

39. Very opportunely for the opening of the campaign, war had broken out between the Taurini, the nearest tribe, and the Insubres. But Hannibal could not get his army ready to help either side, for it was in recovering itself that it felt most keenly the miseries which had accumulated on it. Ease after hardship, plenty after want, comfort after squalor and filth acted variously on their neglected and well-nigh brutalised frames. This was enough to make the consul Publius Cornelius march rapidly to the Po, as soon he had reached Pisæ by sea, though the troops which he took over from Manlius and Atilius were raw levies,

still cowed by recent disgraces. He desired to engage the enemy before he had recovered himself. But by the time that he had arrived at Placentia, Hannibal had moved from his camp, and had stormed one of the towns of the Taurini, the capital of the tribe, as the citizens chose to decline his friendship. He would have secured the alliance of the Gauls in the neighbourhood of the Po, not merely by intimidation but with their own consent, had not the consul's sudden arrival surprised them, as they were looking out for an opportunity of revolt. Hannibal at the same moment left the Taurini, feeling that the Gauls, in their uncertainty which side they ought to take, would range themselves on that of the first comer.

He advances to meet Scipio, who had crossed the Po.

The two armies were now nearly in sight of each other, and the generals had almost met, each penetrated with a certain admiration for his antagonist, though as yet he knew but little of him. Hannibal's name, indeed, even before the fall of Saguntum, was familiar to the Romans, while Scipio was regarded by Hannibal as an eminent man, from the simple fact that he had been singled out for command against himself. And now they had risen in each other's esteem; Scipio, because, though left in Gaul, he had confronted Hannibal on his descent into Italy; Hannibal, because he had attempted and accomplished the passage of the Alps. Scipio, however, was the first to cross the Po. He moved his camp to the river Ticinus, and before leading his men into action delivered the following harangue for their encouragement:—

40. "Soldiers, were I leading into battle the army I had with me in Gaul, I should have thought it needless to address you. What use, indeed, could there be in words of encouragement to the horsemen who gloriously defeated the enemy's cavalry at the Rhone, or to the legions with which I pursued that same enemy in his flight, finding in his retreat, and in his refusal to give battle the equivalent of victory? Now, since that army, having been levied for Spain, is fighting there, as the Senate and people of Rome willed that it should, with my brother Cn. Scipio in command, and under my auspices, and since I have volunteered to command in this battle, that you may have a consul to lead you against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, I, a new commander over new soldiers, am

Scipio's address to his soldiers.

BOOK XXI.

“bound to say a few words. I would have you know both the
“enemy and the conditions of the war. You have to fight,
“soldiers, with the men whom you vanquished by sea and land
“in the former war, from whom for twenty years you have
“exactd tribute, from whom you wrested as prizes of the contes
“provinces which you now hold, Sicily and Sardinia. In this
“battle, therefore, there will be in you and in them the spirit
“which belongs respectively to the victors and the vanquished.
“Even now they are going to fight, not because they are con-
“fident, but because they are compelled. For surely you
“cannot think that the very men who declined battle with their
“army in its full strength, have found more confidence now
“that they have lost two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry in
“crossing the Alps. Well, but you will say that though they
“are but few, they have such stout hearts and frames, that
“scarce any strength can bear the brunt of their resolute
“attack. No; they are nothing but ghosts and shadows of
“men, half dead with hunger, cold, filth, and misery, bruised and
“maimed amid crags and rocks; add to this their limbs frost-
“bitten, their fingers stiffened by the snow, their frames shrivelled
“with the frost, their arms shattered and broken, their horses
“lame and feeble. Such is the cavalry, such the infantry with
“which you are going to fight. It is not an enemy, it is the last
“remnant of an enemy that you will have before you; and what
“I fear most is that when you have fought, it will be the Alps
“that will seem to have conquered Hannibal. Yet perhaps it
“was right it should be so, and that the gods, without human
“aid, should begin and all but terminate a war waged against
“a treaty-breaking leader and people, while we, who next to
“the gods have been grievously wronged, merely finish off what
“they have both begun and almost ended.

41. “I have no fear that any of you will think that I am
“talking grandly to encourage you, while in heart I feel far
“otherwise. I might have gone with my army to Spain, my
“allotted province, for which I had started, where I should
“have a brother to share my counsels and be the companion of
“my dangers, Hasdrubal instead of Hannibal for my foe, and
“an unquestionably less formidable war. But, as I was sailing
“along the shores of Gaul, on hearing the rumours about this

“enemy I landed, sent on my cavalry and advanced my camp to
“the Rhone. In an action fought by my cavalry, the only
“portion of my army with which I had an opportunity of fighting, I vanquished the enemy. His infantry, which hurried on
“with the rapidity of a flight, I could not overtake, and so I
“returned with all possible speed to my ships, made this long
“circuit by sea and land, and now almost at the foot of the
“Alps have met this dread foe. Can you think that I have
“stumbled on him unexpectedly, when seeking to shun a conflict, rather than that I am confronting him on his very track, challenging and forcing him to fight? It is a joy to me to try
“whether in the last twenty years the earth has suddenly produced another race of Carthaginians, or whether they are the same as they were when they fought at the Ægates Islands, whom you then let go from Eryx at a valuation of eighteen denarii for each man. And this Hannibal, is he, as he boasts, a rival of Hercules in his expeditions, or the man whom his father left to pay tax and tribute and be the slave of the Roman people? Were it not that his crime at Saguntum is driving him on, he would surely look back, if not on his conquered country, at least on his home and his father, and on those treaties in the very handwriting of that Hamilcar who, at our consul’s bidding, withdrew his garrison from Eryx, accepted with murmurs and lamentation the hard terms imposed on Carthage, and consented to give up Sicily and pay tribute to Rome. So I would have you fight, soldiers, not merely with the feelings you have towards any other foe, but with a peculiar wrath and fury, as if you saw your own slaves suddenly bearing arms against you. You might have destroyed them by that worst of all human punishments, starvation, when they were shut in at Eryx; you might have crossed with your victorious fleet into Africa, and within a few days have effaced Carthage without a struggle. But we gave quarter when they begged it; we released them from blockade; we made peace with the conquered; finally, we took them under our protection in their sore distress during the African war. By way of return for these boons, they come following the lead of a young madman, to attack our country. And would that this battle were only for your honour, and not for your safety. Not for the

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"possession of Sicily and Sardinia, which were formerly in dispute, but for Italy you have now to fight. There is no other army behind you to bar the enemy's way if we do not conquer ; there are no more Alps, during the passage of which new forces can be raised. Here, soldiers, you must make stand as if we were fighting before the walls of Rome. Let every man of you assure himself that he is defending with his arms, not himself, but his wife and his little children ; and let him not ~~confine~~ himself to thoughts of his family ; let him reflect again and again that the Senate and Commons of Rome are now anxiously watching our prowess, and that such as shall be our strength and resolution, such too in the future will be the fortune of that great city and of the empire of Rome."

Hannibal lets his prisoners fight in single combat, and offers freedom to the victorious.

42. So spake the consul to the Romans. Hannibal, thinking that his men might be best stirred by deeds first and words afterwards, formed his army in a circle and exhibited to them a spectacle. Some prisoners taken from the mountaineers were placed bound in the midst. Gallic weapons were flung down at their feet, and an interpreter was ordered to ask whether any of them would like to fight, if he were to be released from his bonds and were to receive, as ~~the prize of~~ victory, arms and a charger. All to a man cried out for arms and a combat, and when the lot had been thrown for that purpose, every man was eager to be the person whom fortune should select for the deed. Each man too, as his lot fell out, with brisk alacrity and joyful exultation, amid congratulating comrades, hurriedly seized his weapons and danced after his country's fashion. When they came to fight, the prevailing temper, not only of their fellows in the same plight as themselves, but also of the crowd of spectators was such that the fortune of the man who nobly fell was as much applauded as that of the conqueror.

Hannibal's speech to his army.

43. Hannibal having thus impressed his men by the spectacle of several pairs of combatants and then dismissed them, afterwards summoned them together and spoke as follows :—

"If, soldiers, you mean to exhibit in estimating your own lot that same temper which you have just shown in witnessing the exhibition of the fortunes of others, we have already conquered.

"What you saw yonder, was not a mere spectacle ; it was, so to say, a picture of your present position. I almost think that fortune has imposed heavier bonds and heavier necessities on you than on your prisoners. On your right and on your left two seas shut you in, and you have not so much as a single vessel for your escape. Round you is the river Po, a broader and more rapid stream than the Rhone ; behind ~~hang-over~~ you the Alps, which in the full freshness of your strength you could hardly cross. Here, soldiers, you must conquer or die, as soon as you have met the enemy ; and that same fortune, which has imposed on you the necessity of fighting, holds out to you, if victorious, the grandest rewards which men can hope for even from the immortal gods. Were Sicily and Sardinia, which were wrested from our forefathers, all we were about to recover by our valour, even this would be an ample recompense. All that the Romans have won, all the accumulated fruits of their many triumphs, all this and its possessors will be yours. For so magnificent a reward haste to arm yourselves, the gods being your good helpers. Hitherto while you hunted cattle amid those wild mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia, you have seen no recompense for your hardships and dangers ; now it is time for you to enter on rich and lucrative campaigns, and to earn great wages for your service. Your vast marches over these many mountains, over these rivers, through these warlike tribes, you have already accomplished ; here Fortune has given you an end of your labours ; here, when you have finished your campaigning, she will give you a worthy reward.

"And do not think that, because the war has a great name, victory will be correspondingly difficult. Often has a despised foe fought a bloody battle, and famous nations and kings been vanquished with a very slight effort. If you take away the mere glitter of Rome's name, what ground is there for comparing the Romans with yourselves ? Not to speak of your twenty years' service, marked by a valour and a success known to all, you have marched hither victorious from the Pillars of Hercules, from the ocean and the remotest limits of the earth, through a host of the fiercest peoples of Spain and Gaul. You will fight with raw levies, which this very summer have been beaten, vanquished

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"and hemmed in by the Gauls ; an army of which their commander knows nothing, and which knows nothing of him. Am I, born as I almost was, certainly bred in my father's tent, and he the most famous of generals, I, the conqueror of Spain and Gaul, victorious over the Alpine tribes, and, what is even more, over the Alps themselves, to compare myself with this six months' officer, this deserter from his own army? Why, I am sure that if he were to be shown the Carthaginians and Romans without their standards, he would not know which army he commanded. It is, I consider, no light matter, soldiers, that there is not a man among you before whose eyes I have not myself achieved some soldierly deed, not a man whose valour I have not personally witnessed, and whose honourable distinctions I cannot call to mind with their proper dates and scenes. As your foster-son rather than as your commander, with those whom I have praised and rewarded a thousand times, I shall go into battle against men unknowing and unknown to each other.

44. "Wherever I turn my eyes, I see around me nothing but courage and solid strength, veteran infantry, cavalry regular and irregular from the noblest tribes, you the most loyal and bravest of allies, you, men of Carthage, resolving to fight for your country, and in a most righteous quarrel. 'Tis we who attack, who with hostile standards are marching down on Italy, certain to fight more bravely and fearlessly than the foe, inasmuch as he who attacks has higher hope and greater spirit than he who defends. Our hearts too are burning with the excitement of wrath, of wrong remembered and indignities endured. They demanded for execution first myself, your general, then all of you that were at the siege of Saguntum ; had we been surrendered, they meant to inflict on us the extremest tortures. The most merciless, the most arrogant of nations would have everything its own and at its own disposal, and thinks it right to prescribe to us with whom we may have war, with whom peace. It confines and incloses us within the boundaries of mountains and rivers, which we are not to pass, but it does not itself observe those boundaries which it fixes. 'You are not to cross the Ebro ; you are not to meddle with Saguntum.' Well, but Saguntum is not on the

"Ebro. 'You are not to move a foot's breadth anywhere.'
 "Is it a trifle that you are robbing me of my oldest provinces,
 "Sicily and Sardinia? Will you also cross over into Spain, and
 "if I withdraw thence, into Africa? Will cross over, do I say?
 "They have crossed over. Of the two consuls of this year they
 "have sent one to Africa, the other to Spain. Nothing is left
 "us but what we shall make good by our arms. They can
 "afford to be cowards and dastards, they who have something
 "to fall back on, whom their own country, their own territory
 "will receive, as they flee through its safe and peaceful roads.
 "For you it is a necessity to be brave; and now that you have
 "resolved in despair to cast away all but the alternatives of
 "victory or death, you must either conquer, or, if fortune be
 "doubtful, meet your fate in battle rather than in flight. If this
 "is the fixed resolve of every heart, I say again, you have con-
 "quered. Contempt of death is the mightiest weapon given by
 "the gods to man for the winning of victory."

45. Such were the stirring words by which the soldiers' hearts on both sides were kindled for the battle. The Romans threw a bridge over the Ticinus, building a fort also on it for its defence. While the enemy was busy with this work, the Carthaginian despatched Maharbal with a squadron of five hundred Numidian cavalry to ravage the lands of the allies of Rome, with orders to spare the Gauls as much as possible and to incite the minds of their chiefs to revolt. As soon as the bridge was completed, the Roman army was marched across it into the territory of the Insubres, and encamped five miles from Ictumuli. Here Hannibal had his camp. He promptly recalled Maharbal and the cavalry, when he saw that a battle was imminent; and as he thought that he could not say enough by way of encouragement to inspire his men, he summoned them to an assembly and offered definite rewards, in the hope of which they were to fight. He would give them land in Italy, Africa, Spain, wherever each man liked, free of all burdens to its possessor and his children; the man who preferred money to land he would furnish amply with coin; those of the allies who wished to become Carthaginian citizens should have the opportunity; as for those who chose to return to their homes, he would take care that they would never wish to exchange

*The Romans
cross the
Ticinus.*

*Hannibal
prepares for
battle.*

BOOK XXI. their lot for that of any of their fellow-countrymen. To slaves also who accompanied their masters he offered freedom, and to the masters were to be given two slaves in place of each. That they might be assured of the fulfilment of these promises, he held in his left hand a lamb and a flint knife in his right, and invoked Jupiter and the other gods to slay him as he slew the lamb should he break faith. After this imprecation, he crushed the animal's head with the stone. Then, as if every man felt that the gods authorised his hopes, to delay the fight seemed to be to delay the attainment of their desires, and they all with one heart and voice clamoured for battle.

46. Among the Romans there was no such eagerness. Beside other fears, some recent portents had dismayed them. A wolf had entered their camp, and after mangling all he met had escaped uninjured. A swarm of bees too had settled on a tree overhanging the general's tent. Scipio went through the due propitiations, and then with his cavalry and light-armed spearmen set out to reconnoitre the enemy's camp and learn from a near view the composition of his army. He met Hannibal, also riding forward with some troopers to ascertain the nature of the neighbouring ground. Neither at first saw the other. Soon the dust rising more and more densely with the movement of such a host of men and horses indicated an enemy's approach. Both armies halted and prepared for battle.

*The Romans are
worsted in a
cavalry action.*

Scipio posted his light-armed spearmen and his Gallic cavalry in his first line, his Roman soldiers with the flower of the allies in his reserves. Hannibal ranged his regular cavalry in his centre; his wings he strengthened with his Numidians. Scarce had the battle-shout been raised, when the spearmen fled to the second line among the reserves. For some time after this the fight between the cavalry was doubtful; but after a while as the foot-soldiers mingling with their ranks frightened the horses, and many of the riders were thrown or dismounted on seeing their fellow-soldiers hard pressed and in danger, the battle came to be fought to a great degree on foot. Then the Numidians on the wings, making a slight wheel, showed themselves on the rear. This alarming sight quite confounded the Romans, and their terror was increased by the wounding of their general, who was rescued from his danger by the prompt

arrival of his son, then in his early youth. This was the young man to whom belongs the glory of the ending of this war, and who was named Africanus for his splendid victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Still there was a disorderly flight, especially among the spearmen, who were the first whom the Numidians had charged. Some of the cavalry closed up, received the consul into their centre, and defending him with their persons as well as with their weapons brought him back to the camp in a retreat free from hurry and confusion. The glory of having saved the consul is ascribed by Cælius to a slave of Ligurian origin; but I prefer myself to accept as true the story about the son, which has the preponderance of authority and has been uniformly asserted by tradition.

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*Scipio wounded,
and rescued by
his son.*

47. Such was the first battle with Hannibal. It clearly showed the Carthaginian's superiority in cavalry, and that, consequently, open plains, such as those between the Po and the Alps, were not a suitable battle-field for the Romans. Accordingly on the following night, orders were given to the soldiers to collect their baggage, the camp was moved from the Ticinus, and a forced march made to the Po, in the hope of finding the rafts with which the river had been bridged still unbroken, and so of crossing without confusion and pursuit from the enemy. They reached Placentia * before Hannibal knew for certain that they had left the Ticinus; as it was, however, he captured about six hundred who were lingering on the left bank of the Po, lazily losing the raft. He could not cross the bridge, as the entire raft drifted down the stream, as soon as its extremities were unfastened. According to Cælius, Mago at once swam across the river with the cavalry and Spanish infantry, while Hannibal himself took his men across by the upper fords of the Po, first posting his elephants in line so as to check the force of the current. This will hardly find belief with those who know the river; for it is not likely that cavalry could with safety to their arms and horses have stemmed so rapid a stream, even supposing that all the Spaniards had already crossed it on inflated bladders; besides a circuit of several days would have been required to discover fords on the Po by which an army encumbered with baggage could cross. I put more confidence in those historians who relate that with difficulty, in two days' search, a place was

*The Romans
fall back on
Placentia.*

* Piacenza.

BOOK XXI. found for bridging the river with a raft, by which Mago and the light-armed Spaniards were sent on in advance. While Hannibal, who tarried a while near the river to receive embassies from the Gauls, was crossing with his heavy infantry, Mago and his horsemen in one day's march after the passage came up with the enemy at Placentia. A few days afterwards Hannibal fortified his camp at a distance of six miles from Placentia; the next day he drew up his army in sight of the enemy, and offered battle.

Hannibal follows them up.

48. The following night some auxiliary Gauls perpetrated an outrage in the Roman camp; there was more disturbance, however, than damage. As many as two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, cutting down the sentries at the camp-gates, deserted to Hannibal. The Carthaginian received them kindly, animated them with the hope of great rewards, and dismissed every man to his native state that he might work on the minds of his fellow-countrymen. Scipio looked on the outrage as a sign of the impending revolt of all the Gauls, who, affected by the contagion of the crime, would fly to arms in a sudden access of madness. Though still suffering from his wound, he yet set off with his army in silence at the fourth watch of the following night, and moved his camp to the river Trebia, where was some rather high ground and hills ill adapted for cavalry. He was less successful in escaping observation than he had been at the Ticinus. Hannibal first despatched his Numidians, then all his cavalry, and would at least have thrown into disorder Scipio's rear, had not the Numidians in their greed for spoil turned off into the Roman camp. Ransacking every corner in the camp and wasting time without any adequate compensation for such delay, they let the enemy slip from their grasp. After taking a view of the Romans, who had now crossed the Trebia and were measuring out their camp, they cut down a few loiterers whom they had surprised on their own side of the stream.

Scipio encamps on the Trebia.

Scipio, no longer able to bear up against the pain of his wound, which the march had irritated, and thinking that he ought to wait for his colleague, who had, he understood, been already recalled from Sicily, selected and fortified a position near the river, which seemed safest for a permanent camp. Hannibal also encamped at no great distance; though he was

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elated by his successful cavalry engagement, he was equally perplexed by the daily increasing scarcity which encountered him in his advance through the enemy's country, in which no supplies had been anywhere prepared. He sent therefore to the town of Clastidium,* where the Romans had accumulated vast stores of corn. His troops were on the point of attack, when hope was held out that the place would be betrayed to him. At no great cost, merely that of four hundred gold coins, Dasius Brundisinus, the officer of the garrison, was bribed, and Clastidium delivered up to Hannibal. The place served as a magazine to the Carthaginians while in camp on the Trebia. There was no cruel treatment of the prisoners from the surrendered garrison, as Hannibal sought at the outset to get a name for clemency.

* Castegno.

*Clastidium
treacherously
surrendered to
Hannibal.*

49. Though the war by land was at a standstill at the Trebia, some operations had been carried on by the consul Sempronius, and also before his arrival, both by land and sea, round Sicily and the closely adjacent islands. Twenty five-banked ships had been sent by the Carthaginians with a thousand soldiers to ravage the coasts of Italy. Of these nine reached the Liparæ islands and eight the Isle of Vulcan, while three were driven into the straits by a heavy sea. They were seen from Messina and Hiero, king of Syracuse, who happened at the time to be at Messina waiting the arrival of the Roman consul, despatched twelve ships against them; these captured them without resistance and brought them into that port. From the prisoners it was ascertained, that beside the fleet of twenty ships, to which they themselves belonged, thirty-five other five-banked ships were making for Sicily with the view of rousing old allies; that the chief object was the seizure of Lilybæum †; that it was their belief that these ships also had been driven on the Ægates islands in the same storm by which they were themselves scattered. King Hiero communicated all this by letter, just as he had heard it, to Marcus Æmilius, the prætor, whose province Sicily was, and advised him to hold Lilybæum with a strong garrison. Instantly the prætor sent off to the various states envoys and military officers, who were to urge their allies to vigilance in self-defence. Above all, Lilybæum was busy with warlike preparations, orders having been publicly

*Naval
operations off
Sicily.*

† Marsala.

BOOK XXI. issued that the seamen were to bring to the ships cooked food for ten days. There would thus be nothing to delay embarkation as soon as the signal was given. Along the whole coast too men were despatched to observe the enemy's approach from watch-towers.

Accordingly, though the Carthaginians had purposely delayed the advance of their fleet, so as to approach Lilybæum before daylight, yet they were perceived, as the moon shone all night, and they came with their masts standing. In a moment the signal was given from the watch-towers, and in the town there was a call to arms, and the fleet was manned. Some of the soldiers were on the walls and on guard at the gates, some on board the ships. The Carthaginians, seeing that they would have to deal with an enemy who was by no means unprepared, kept outside the harbour till daybreak, passing the time in taking down the masts and getting their vessels ready for action. At dawn of day they sailed back with their fleet into the open sea, that there might be room for a battle, and that the enemy's ships might have free passage out of the harbour. Nor did the Romans decline an engagement, encouraged as they were by the memories of past achievements on those same seas, and by the multitude and valour of their soldiers.

*The
Carthaginian
fleet defeated
off Lilybæum.*

50. As soon as they had reached the open water, the Romans were eager to close and to try their strength at near quarters. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, avoided the enemy, preferring manœuvres to direct attack, and wishing to make it a contest of ships more than of men and arms; for their fleet, though amply manned with mariners, was poor in soldiers, and whenever a ship was grappled by the foe, the troops which fought from it were in numbers decidedly inferior. This having been observed, the confidence of the Romans rose at the sight of their numerous soldiery, while that of the enemy was depressed by their deficiency. Seven Carthaginian vessels were at once surrounded; the remainder took to flight. In the captured ships were seventeen hundred soldiers and sailors, and among them three Carthaginian nobles. The Roman fleet returned without loss into harbour, only one vessel having been pierced, but even this was brought back safely.

Immediately after this battle, before those at Messana knew

anything of it, Sempronius the consul arrived at the town. As he entered the straits, King Hiero met him with a fleet fully manned and equipped; went from his own to the admiral's ship, and after congratulating the consul on his safe arrival with his army and his fleet, and praying that his passage to Sicily might have a prosperous and successful issue, explained to him the state of the island and the aims of the Carthaginians. He promised, too, that now in his old age he would help the Roman people with as willing a heart as he had done in his youth in the former war. Corn and clothing for the consul's legions and for the seamen he would provide free of cost, and he added that there was the greatest danger hanging over Lilybæum and the cities on the coast, and that some would welcome a revolution. Hearing this the consul thought that he ought without a moment's delay to proceed with his fleet to Lilybæum. The king and the royal fleet started with him. During the voyage from Messana they heard of the battle off Lilybæum, and of the rout and capture of the enemy's ships.

*King Hiero
promises aid to
the Romans.*

51. From Lilybæum the consul, dismissing Hiero and the royal fleet and leaving the prætor to guard the coasts of Sicily, crossed over himself to the island of Melita,* then in the possession of the Carthaginians. On his approach, Hamilcar, son of Gisco, the commander of the garrison, surrendered himself, with nearly two thousand troops, the town and the island. A few days afterwards the consul returned from Messana to Lilybæum, and the prisoners taken both by him and the consul were sold by auction, such as were distinguished by noble birth being excepted. When he thought that Sicily was safe enough on this side, he crossed to the islands of Vulcan,† as report said that the Carthaginian fleet was moored there. Not a man, however, of the enemy was found near the islands, for it so happened that they had sailed away to ravage the shores of Italy, where they had wasted the territory round Vibo and were also threatening that city. As the consul was returning to Sicily, this raid of the enemy into the territory of Vibo was reported to him, and there was also handed to him a despatch from the Senate telling of Hannibal's passage into Italy, and bidding him on the very first opportunity render aid to his colleague.

*Surrender of
Melita to
Sempronius.*

* Malta.

† The Lipari.

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Harassed by a combination of many anxieties, he at once put his troops on shipboard and sent them up the Adriatic to Ariminum, while to his lieutenant Sextus Pompeius he assigned the defence of the country round Vibo and of the shores of Italy with five-and-twenty warships. He made up the fleet of Marcus Æmilius, the prætor, to fifty vessels. As soon as he had settled the affairs of Sicily, he went in person, cruising along the Italian coast, with ten ships to Ariminum. Thence he set out with his army for the river Trebia and joined his colleague.

He returns to Italy, and joins his colleague on the Trebia.

52. Both consuls and all the available strength of Rome were now opposed to Hannibal, a plain proof that either the Roman empire could be defended by these forces or that no other troops remained. Still one of the consuls, disheartened by a single cavalry action and the wound he had received, wished to defer battle. The other, whose courage was unbroken and spirits high, would not brook delay.

The country between the Trebia and the Po was then inhabited by the Gauls, who during this struggle between two overwhelmingly powerful nations showed no decided bias, and had an eye undoubtedly to the favour of the conqueror. Provided only they remained quiet, the Romans were well satisfied, but the Carthaginians were greatly mortified, repeatedly declaring that they had come at the invitation of the Gauls to set them free. Resentment, and the wish to support their soldiers on the plunder, suggested the sending of five thousand infantry and a thousand horse, Numidians for the most part, with some Gauls interspersed among them, to lay waste the whole country district after district as far as the banks of the Po. In their sore need of help the Gauls, though hitherto they had maintained an undecided attitude, were driven to turn from the authors of this wrong to those who would, they hoped, avenge it. They sent envoys to the consul, imploring Roman aid for a country suffering grievously from the too faithful loyalty of its inhabitants. Neither the ground nor the occasion for interference approve itself to Cornelius, and he suspected the nation for its many acts of faithlessness, but above all, if other memories had faded in forgotten past, for the recent treachery of the Boii. Sempronius on the contrary, held that the defence of the first who needed

succour was the surest bond for the preservation of the loyalty of the allies. While his colleague hesitated, he sent his own cavalry with a thousand infantry attached to it, almost all light-armed, to protect the territory of the Gauls beyond the Trebia. Suddenly attacking the dispersed and disorderly pillagers, who were also for the most part encumbered with booty, they caused an intense panic, slaying them and driving them before them to their camp and out-posts. Driven back by the numbers that sallied forth, they renewed the fight when reinforced by their own men. With varying fortune of battle they pursued and retired, and left the action undecided at last. But the enemy's loss was the heavier, and the honour of victory rested with the Romans.

*Cavalry
skirmish.*

53. No one, indeed, thought their success greater and more complete than the consul himself. He was transported with joy at having been victorious with the very arm, the cavalry, with which the other consul had been beaten. The spirits of the soldiers, he was sure, were restored and revived, and no one but his colleague wished to defer the action, and he, ailing as he was, more in mind than body, shrank from battle and the steel, as he thought of his wound. But they must not let themselves sink into a sick man's languor. What good was there in further delay and waste of time? Where is the third consul and the third army we are waiting for? The Carthaginian camp is in Italy, almost within sight of Rome. It is not Sicily or Sardinia, already lost to the conquered, it is not Spain this side of the Ebro which is threatened; it is from their native soil, from the land in which they were born, that the Romans are to be driven. What a sigh," he exclaimed, "would our fathers heave, they who were wont to fight round the walls of Carthage, were they to see us, their offspring, two consuls and two consular armies cowering within their camp in the heart of Italy, while the Carthaginian has brought under his sway all the country between the Alps and the Apennines?" Such was the language, vehement almost as a popular harangue, which he would pour forth as he sat by his ailing comrade, or in the headquarters. He was goaded on too by the near approach of the elections, and by the fear that the war, with its opportunity of securing all the glory for himself, while his colleague was

*Sempronius is
lent on fighting.*

BOOK XXI. disabled, would be postponed till new consuls came into office. Accordingly he bade the soldiers prepare for the coming battle, while Cornelius in vain dissented.

Preparations of Hannibal.

Hannibal, seeing clearly what was best for his foe, had hardly a hope that the consuls would act at all rashly or imprudently. But now being well aware that the temper of one of them, as he knew at first by report, and subsequently by experience, was impetuous and headstrong, and surmising that it was the more so after the successful skirmish with his pillaging parties, he felt sure that the happy opportunity for action was at hand. Anxiously and intently did he watch not to let the moment slip, while the enemy's soldiery were raw recruits, while the better of the generals was disabled by his wound, and while the courage of the Gauls was in its freshness. Their numerous host, he knew, would follow him with less alacrity the further they were dragged from their homes. For these, and like reasons, he hoped the battle was at hand, and he was eager to force it, if there was any hesitation. When the Gauls who acted as his spies (as Gauls were serving in both camps, these could be most safely employed to give the knowledge he desired) had brought back word that the Romans were ready for battle he proceeded to look out a position for an ambuscade.

He reconnoitres the ground, and posts an ambush.

54. Between the armies was a stream closed in by very high banks, and by an overgrowth on either side of marshy grass, and of the underwood and bramble-bushes that usually spread themselves over uncultivated ground. Hannibal himself rode round the place and saw with his own eyes that it afforded ample cover for the concealment even of cavalry. "This," said he to his brother Mago, "will be the spot for you to occupy. Pick out a hundred men from our entire infantry, and as many from the cavalry, and come with them to me in the first watch of the night; now it is time to refresh yourselves." So saying, he dismissed his staff. Mago soon arrived with his picked men. "I see before me," said Hannibal, "a band of heroes; but that you may be strong in numbers as well as in courage, choose each of you nine men like himself from the squadrons and the companies. Mago will show you the place where you are to lie hid; you have an enemy blind to these stratagems of war." Having then dismissed Mago with his thousand horse

and thousand foot, Hannibal at dawn ordered his Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia and ride up to the gates of the enemy's camp. There by discharging missiles at the sentries they were to lure the enemy to an engagement, and then, the battle once commenced, gradually to draw him after them to their side of the river. Such were his orders to the Numidians. The other infantry and cavalry officers were directed to see that all the men had a meal, and then to await the signal, armed, and with horses saddled.

Eager for battle, for his purpose was already fixed, Sempronius, on the first alarm caused by the Numidians, led out the whole of his cavalry, the arm in which he had peculiar confidence, then six thousand infantry, and at last his entire army. It happened to be winter, and a snowy day; the region, too, lies between the Alps and the Apennines, and the neighbourhood of rivers and marshes renders it intensely cold. And then as the men and the horses had to be hurriedly marched out without a previous meal, and with no protection against the cold, there was no warmth in them, and as they approached the river, more and more piercingly did the frosty air blow in their faces. As soon as they plunged into the water in pursuit of the retreating Numidians (and it was breast high from having been swollen by rain in the night) their limbs grew stiffer and stiffer, so that when they stepped out of it, they had hardly strength to grasp their weapons, and grew faint from fatigue and from hunger also as the day wore on.

*The Romans
cross the Trebia
on a bitterly
cold day.*

55. Hannibal's soldiers meanwhile had had fires lit before their tents; oil was distributed among the companies with which to make their limbs supple, and they had enjoyed a leisurely meal. As soon as the news came that the enemy had crossed the river, they armed themselves and marched out to battle in full vigour of heart and frame. His Balaric slingers, all light-armed, Hannibal posted in front of the standards, to the number of about eight thousand, next his heavy-armed infantry—the strength and stay of his army. His flanks he covered with ten thousand cavalry, and placed his elephants in two divisions on either flank.

The consul, seeing that his cavalry were pursuing in loose order and were confronted unexpectedly by a sudden resistance from the Numidians, gave the signal for retreat, recalled his

BOOK XXI. men, and received them within his infantry. Of Romans there were eighteen thousand; of the Latin allies, twenty thousand, and some auxiliaries of the Cenomani, the only Gallic tribe which had stood firm to its loyalty. Such were the forces which met in action. The slingers began the battle, but as they were encountered by the superior strength of the infantry, these light troops were suddenly withdrawn to the wings, the result being that the Roman cavalry was at once hard pressed. Even before, four thousand troopers could by themselves barely hold their ground against ten thousand, most of whom were fresh while they were fatigued, and now they were overwhelmed, so to say, by a cloud of missiles from the Baliates. Then, too, the elephants, towering conspicuously as they did on the flanks, and scaring the horses by their appearance and above all by their strange smell, caused widespread panic. The contending infantry were well matched as to courage but not as to physical strength, which indeed the Carthaginians, who had just refreshed themselves, had brought in full vigour into the battle. The Romans, on the other hand, had hungry, weary frames, stiff and benumbed with cold. Still their courage would have held out, had they had to fight only with infantry. But the Baliates, after driving back the cavalry, kept up a discharge of missiles on the Roman flanks, and the elephants had now thrown themselves into the midst of the infantry, while Mago and his Numidians, the moment the army had unawares passed their ambush, started up in the rear, spreading terrible confusion and panic. Yet with all these horrors around them, the ranks stood firm some time, even against the elephants, very much against all expectation. Some light-armed troops, posted for the purpose, drove them off with showers of darts, then pursued them, and as they turned their backs, stabbed them under their tails, where they can receive wounds, as the skin is particularly soft.

The battle.

56. In their confusion they were beginning to rush wildly at their own men, when Hannibal ordered them to be driven from the centre to the extreme left against the Gallic auxiliaries. Among these they created at once a very decided panic, and fresh fear fell on the Romans as soon as they saw their auxiliaries routed. They now stood fighting in square, when nearly ten thousand men, having no other way of escape, broke through

the centre of the African troops, where this had been strengthened by some Gallic auxiliaries, making great slaughter among the enemy. Cut off by the river from return into their camp, and not being able to see for the rain where they could help their comrades, they marched straight to Placentia. Then followed rush after rush in all directions; some made for the river and were swept away in its eddies, or were cut down by the enemy as they hesitated to plunge into the stream. Such as were dispersed in flight over the country followed the track of the main body in its retreat, and made for Placentia. Others there were to whom dread of the enemy gave courage to plunge into the river, which they crossed, and arrived at the camp. A storm of mingled rain and snow with an unendurable intensity of cold destroyed many of the men and of the beasts of burden, and almost all the elephants.

*Total defeat of
the Romans.*

The Trebia was the final limit of the Carthaginian pursuit. They returned to their camp so benumbed with cold that they hardly felt the joy of victory. Consequently on the next night, when the camp garrison and the other survivors, mainly wounded men, crossed the Trebia on rafts, they either perceived nothing, or, not being able to move from fatigue and wounds, they pretended to perceive nothing. Thus, unmolested by the Carthaginians, the consul Scipio marched his army in perfect quiet to Placentia, whence he crossed the Po to Cremona, that a single colony might be spared the burden of two armies in winter quarters.

Carthaginians

*because of the
noise of the
rowing*

*Scipio retires on
Placentia.*

57. At Rome such a panic followed on this disaster that people imagined that the enemy would at once appear before the city in battle array, and that there was no hope, or any means of repelling his attack from their walls and gates—one consul having been beaten at the Ticinus, the other having been recalled from Sicily; and now, with two consuls and two consular armies defeated, what other generals or legions had they to summon to the rescue? In the midst of their alarm the consul Sempronius arrived. At great risk he had made his way through the enemy's cavalry, who were scouring the country for plunder, relying on audacity rather than on skill or any hope of eluding them or chance, should he fail to elude, of successful resistance. The one thing which at the moment was felt to be

*Arrival of
Sempronius at
Rome.*

BOOK XXI.

*He holds the
elections.*

most important; he did; he held the elections for consuls, and then went back to his winter camp. Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius were appointed consuls.

*Hannibal fails
in an attack on
Emporium.*

Meanwhile there was no peace or rest for the Romans, even in their winter camp. Everywhere the Numidian cavalry scoured the country, or where the ground was too difficult for them, the Celtiberi and Lusitani. Consequently, all supplies were cut off, except such as were brought up the Po by vessels. Near Placentia stood Emporium; the place had been fortified with great labour, and was held by a strong garrison. In the hope of storming the fortress Hannibal set out with some cavalry and light-armed troops. It was in the concealment of his design that he mainly rested his confidence of success, but though he attacked by night, he was not unperceived by the sentries. A shout was instantly raised, so loud as to be heard at Placentia. At daybreak the consul was on the spot with his cavalry, his legions having had orders to follow in fighting order. Meantime a cavalry action was fought, in which a panic seized the enemy, because Hannibal left the field wounded, and so the position was brilliantly defended.

*Victumviæ
surrenders.*

Thence, after a few days' rest, before his wound was thoroughly cured, Hannibal marched on Victumviæ to attack the place. It had been fortified by the Romans as a magazine-dépôt during the Gallic war, and a mixed multitude had flocked to it from all the neighbouring tribes. Many more had now been driven into it out of the rural districts by fear of the enemy's ravages. It was a gathering thus composed that, with hearts kindled by the report of the brave defence of the fort near Placentia, flew to arms, and went forth to meet Hannibal. More like a crowd than an army, they encountered him on his march, and as on one side there was nothing but a disorderly throng while on the other was a general who trusted his soldiers and soldiers who trusted their general, upwards of thirty-five thousand were routed by a handful of men. Next day there was a surrender, and a garrison was admitted within the walls. The moment they obeyed the order to give up their arms, the conquerors received a signal to plunder the town, as if they had stormed it, and not a dreadful deed, which under such circumstances historians usually think worthy of note, was left

unperpetrated. Every kind of outrage that lust, cruelty, and brutal insolence could suggest was practised on the miserable inhabitants. Such were Hannibal's winter expeditions.

58. For a brief space, while the cold was intolerable, the soldiers were allowed rest. At the first dubious signs of spring Hannibal quitted his winter quarters, and led them into Etruria with the design of attaching that people to himself, by force or by persuasion, as he had attached the Gauls and Ligurians. While he was crossing the Apennines, he was assailed by a tempest so fierce that it almost exceeded the horrors of the Alps. A storm of wind and rain was driving straight into the men's faces. At first they halted, as they had either to drop their weapons, or, if they still struggled on against it, were caught by the whirlwind and dashed to the earth. Then finding that it actually stopped their breath and prevented respiration, they sat down for a few moments with their backs to the wind. And now the whole heaven resounded with awful rumblings, and amid terrific peals flashed out the lightnings. Blinded and deafened, all stood numb with fear, till at last, as the rain was exhausted and the fury of the gale became in consequence the more intense, it seemed a necessity to encamp on the spot where they were thus overtaken. This indeed was, as it were, to begin their toils anew, for they could unfurl nothing and fix nothing, or what they had fixed did not keep its place, everything being rent and swept away by the wind. Soon the moisture which the air held aloft, froze in the cold of the mountain heights, and discharged such a shower of snow and hail, that the men, ceasing all effort, threw themselves to the earth, buried under their coverings rather than protected by them. Then followed a frost so intense that any one who in his miserable wreck of men and beasts sought to raise and lift himself was long unable to do so; his sinews were paralysed with cold so that he could hardly bend his limbs. After a while they began at last to stir themselves into movement and to recover their spirits; here and there a few fires were lit, and the utterly helpless sought relief from their comrades. Two days they lingered on the spot, like a besieged garrison. Many beasts of burden, and seven too of the elephants which had survived the battle on the Trebia, perished.

59. Descending from the Apennines Hannibal moved his

*Hannibal
attempts to cross
the Apennines,
but is driven
back by a violent
storm.*

BOOK XXI.

*He fights an
indecisive action
with Sempronius
near Placentia.*

camp back towards Placentia, halting after an advance of about ten miles. Next day he marched against the enemy with twelve thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, and Sempronius, who by this time had returned from Rome, did not refuse battle.

That day the two camps were separated by an interval of three miles; on the morrow the armies fought with the greatest courage, the result being doubtful. At the first onset the arms of Rome were so superior as not only to prevail in the field but even to drive the routed enemy to his camp, which itself they attacked. Hannibal, after posting a few defenders on the ramparts and at the camp gates, retired the rest of his troops in close order into the centre of his camp, bidding them attentively await the signal for a sortie. It was now about the ninth hour of the day, and the Roman general, whose men had wearied themselves in vain, seeing that there was no hope of taking the camp, gave the signal for retreat. When Hannibal knew this, and saw that the attack had slackened and that retreat had commenced, he hurled his cavalry right and left against the enemy, and sallied in person from the centre of his camp with the whole strength of his infantry. Seldom had there been a fiercer fight and the destruction of one army would have rendered it more memorable had the light allowed it to have been considerably prolonged. Night however abruptly terminated an action begun with prodigious ardour. The slaughter was consequently less terrible than the fighting, and as the success was almost evenly balanced, the two sides quitted the field with equal loss. No more than six hundred infantry and half as many cavalry fell on either side, but the Roman loss was out of proportion to their numbers, for several men of equestrian rank, five military tribunes, and three commanding officers of the allies, were slain.

Immediately after the battle Hannibal retired to Liguria. Sempronius to Luca. As Hannibal was on his way to Liguria two Roman quæstors, Caius Fulvius and Lucius Lucretius, who had been treacherously intercepted, along with two military tribunes and five men of equestrian rank, nearly all sons of Senators, were surrendered to him, that he might have a better assurance of a secure peace and alliance with the Ligurians.

60. During these events in Italy, Cneius Cornelius Scipio had been despatched with a fleet and an army to Spain. Starting

from the mouth of the Rhone he sailed round the Pyrenees and brought his ships to anchor at Emporiæ* ; there he disembarked his army, and beginning with the Lacetani, while he renewed old as well as formed new alliances, he brought under Roman dominion the entire coast as far as the river Ebro. The character for clemency thus acquired spread not only among the maritime population, but even to the wilder tribes in the interior and among the mountains. With these he secured not simply peace, but also an armed alliance, and some strong auxiliary cohorts were levied from among them. Hanno's province was on this side the Ebro. He had been left by Hannibal to defend this district. Feeling that he must meet the danger before the whole country was lost, he encamped within sight of the enemy and led out his men for battle. The Roman too thought that there ought to be no delay about fighting, for he knew that he would have to encounter Hanno and Hasdrubal, and he preferred to deal with them separately rather than united. Nor did the battle prove a severe contest. Six thousand of the enemy were slain and two thousand captured with the camp garrison ; for both the camp was stormed and the general himself made prisoner with several of his chief officers. Cissis, a town near the camp, was also stormed. The spoil of this place indeed consisted of things of small value, rude household furniture and some worthless slaves. The camp really enriched the soldiers. It was the camp not of the defeated army alone, but also of that which was now serving with Hannibal in Italy, almost everything of value having been left on the Spanish side of the Pyrenes, that his troops on their march might have no burdensome baggage.

61. Before any certain tidings of this defeat had reached him, Hasdrubal had crossed the Ebro with eight thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, meaning, it seemed, to oppose the Romans immediately on their arrival. But when he heard of the ruinous disaster at Cissis and the loss of the camp, he directed his march towards the sea. In the neighbourhood of Tarraco our marines and seamen were roaming all over the country, success as usual producing carelessness. Sending out his cavalry far and wide, Hasdrubal drove them to their ships with great slaughter and yet greater panic. But not daring to linger in the neighbourhood, lest Scipio should swoop down on him, he

BOOK XXI. retired to the further side of the Ebro. Scipio too, who, on the rumour of a new enemy, had advanced by forced marches, after executing a few of the captains of the ships and leaving a moderate garrison at Tarraco, returned with his fleet to Emporiæ. Almost instantly on his departure Hasdrubal appeared, stirred to revolt the Ilergetes, who had given hostages to Scipio, and, taking with him the youth of that tribe, ravaged the lands of the allies who remained loyal to Rome. This roused Scipio from his winter quarters, and Hasdrubal again withdrew from the whole country on this side of the Ebro. Scipio marched his army to the tribe of the Ilergetes, now abandoned by the instigator of their revolt. Having driven them all into Atanagrum, their principal town, he besieged the place, and within a few days received them under the protection and jurisdiction of Rome, while fining them in money and exacting more hostages than before.

He next entered the territory of the Ausetani, near the Ebro, themselves also allies of the Carthaginians. He besieged their capital, and when the Lætani were marching by night to help their neighbours, he intercepted them by an ambuscade near the town which they were about to enter. Upwards of twelve thousand were slain; nearly all the survivors stripped themselves of their arms and fled to their homes, after wandering hither and thither through the country. As for the besieged, their sole defence was the bad weather, which much embarrassed their assailants. The siege lasted thirty days, during which the snow lay on the ground to a depth of seldom less than four feet, and it had so completely buried the Roman siege-works and mantlets that of itself alone it was a protection against the fiery missiles discharged from time to time by the enemy. At last their chief, Amusicus, having made his escape to Hasdrubal, they surrendered, agreeing to make a payment of twenty silver talents. The army returned into its winter quarters at Tarraco.

Portents.

62. At Rome, or in the neighbourhood, many portents occurred that winter, or, as often happens, when once men's minds are affected by religious fears, many were reported and thoughtlessly believed. These, among others, were related of a child, six months old, of free-born parents, had shouted

*Religious
ceremonies and
expiatory
offerings.*

"triumph;" in the cattle-market an ox mounted of its own accord to a third story, from which it threw itself, in alarm at the commotion of the inhabitants; phantom ships had been seen glittering in the sky; the temple of Hope in the vegetable market had been struck by lightning; at Lanuvium a spear had moved of itself; a crow had flown down on the temple of Juno, and perched on the very shrine of the goddess; at several places in the country round Amiternum had been seen figures like men in white clothing, whom, however, nobody actually met; in Picenum there had been a shower of stones, at Cære the sacred tablets had shrunk, and in Gaul a wolf had carried off a sentry's sword, first pulling it out of its sheath. As to the other portents, the College of the Ten were bidden to consult the sacred books, but for the shower of stones at Picenum a holy feast of nine days was proclaimed, and then, for the expiation of others, almost all the citizens busied themselves with sacrifices. First of all, the city was purified, and victims of the larger sort were offered to such deities as the sacred books directed. An offering of forty pounds' weight of gold was conveyed to Lanuvium for Juno, and a bronze statue was also dedicated by the married women to Juno of the Aventine. At Cære, where the sacred tablets had shrunk, orders were given for a festival of the gods, and on Mount Algidus there were to be public prayers to Fortune. At Rome, too, there was a sacred feast for the youth and a litany at the temple of Hercules, which was specially named, and the same for all the citizens at all the prescribed shrines. To the Guardian Spirit of the city were sacrificed five victims of the larger sort, and the prætor, Caius Atilius Soranus, was directed to vow certain offerings, should the State continue in its present position for ten years. These ceremonies and vows, performed in obedience to the Sibylline books, greatly relieved men's minds of their religious fears.

63. One of the consuls-elect, Flaminius, to whom the lot had given command of the legions in winter quarters at Placentia, sent orders by a despatch to the consul there that these troops were to be in camp at Ariminum on the fifteenth of March. It was his intention to enter on his consulship in his province, for he well remembered his old quarrels with the

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Senate, first when he was tribune, then when he was consul and they sought to deprive him of his consulship, lastly when his Triumph was refused. He was hated, too, by the Senators, in consequence of an unprecedented bill which Quintus Claudius, as tribune, had introduced in defiance of the Senate by the support of Flaminius alone among its members. The bill forbade any Senator or Senator's son to possess a sea-going vessel of more than three hundred amphoras' burden. This was thought sufficient for the conveyance of produce from their estates, all trade-profit being regarded as discreditable for a Senator. The matter was discussed in a very sharp debate, and had earned for him, as the supporter of the bill, much dislike from the nobility, while it gave him popularity with the Commons and thereby a second consulship. Thinking, therefore, that they would detain him at Rome by falsifying the auspices, by delays arising out of the Latin festival, and other hindrances in a consul's way, he left on a pretended journey, and went away secretly as a private citizen to his province.

*Flaminius
leaves Rome
secretly for his
province.*

As soon as this was made public, it stirred fresh wrath in the already angry Senators. "Flaminius," they said, "is now making war not only on the Senate, but even on the immortal gods. When he was previously elected consul without due auspices, and we recalled him from the field of battle, he was disobedient both to God and man. Now, conscious of having despised them, he has fled away from the Capitol and the sacred recital of the usual vows. He is unwilling on his day of taking office to approach the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to see and consult the Senate which hates him, and which he alone of their members himself hates, to proclaim the Latin festival and offer on the mount the customary sacrifice to Jupiter Latialis, to go with due auspices to the Capitol to recite the vows, and thence to his province in his general's cloak with lictors about him. He has left Rome like a camp follower, with no official badge, without a lictor, secretly stealthily, just as if he were quitting his country to become an exile. He supposes doubtless that it is more consistent with the dignity of the empire for him to enter on his office at Ariminum than at Rome, and to assume his official robe in some wayside inn rather than before his own hearth."

*Attempt to
recall him.*

All maintained that he ought to be recalled, nay, even dragged back, and forced to perform in person every duty owing to God and man before he went to the army in his province. It was decided to despatch envoys; but the men sent on this errand, Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius, had no more effect on him than had the despatches of the Senate in his previous consulship. He entered on his office in the course of a few days. A calf which he was offering, and which was already wounded, broke loose from the grasp of the sacrificing priests, sprinkling several of the bystanders with its blood. At a distance from the altar, where no one knew what caused the commotion, there was still greater panic and excitement. It was regarded by many as an omen of very fearful import. Flaminius then received two legions from Sempronius, the consul of the previous year, and two more from Caius Atilius, the prætor, and began to lead his army through the passes of the Apennines into Etruria.

*He marches
into Etruria.*

BOOK XXII.

B.C. 217, 216.

BOOK XXII.

Hannibal moves out of his winter quarters. I. IT was nearly spring when Hannibal moved out of his winter quarters. He had before attempted to cross the Apennines, but in vain, so intolerable was the cold ; and his sojourn had been prolonged amidst extreme peril and apprehension. The Gauls had been attracted by the hope of spoil and rapine ; but when they found that instead of their plundering their neighbours, their own country was made the battle-field, and that it was burdened by the winter quarters of the two armies, they transferred their hatred from the Romans to Hannibal. Again and again plots were hatched by the chiefs against his life ; again and again he was saved by their treachery to each other, while they revealed their conspiracies with the same levity with which they had conspired. He would also change now his dress, now his wig, and found protection in thus confusing his assailants. However, these fears were another reason for his early movement out of winter quarters.

Anxiety at Rome.

About the same time, on the fifteenth of March, the consul Cneius Servilius, entered on his office at Rome. When he submitted to the Senate his proposals for the year, their angry feeling against Caius Flaminius broke out afresh. "We have made two consuls," they exclaimed, "but we have only one. What legal authority, what religious sanction does this man possess ? It is from his home, from the hearth of the State and of the family it is after keeping the Latin Feast, and sacrificing on the Alban Hill, and praying with all due solemnity, that the new magistrate takes this sanction with him. No such sanction can attend

"private person; the man who has started without it cannot acquire it afresh in its fulness on a foreign soil." BOOK XXII.

These fears were increased by the tidings of marvels which now came from many places at once. Some soldiers' spears in Sicily had burst into a blaze; so too in Sardinia had the staff which an officer held in his hand as he went his rounds inspecting the sentries on the wall; two shields had sweated blood; certain soldiers had been struck by lightning; there had been seen an eclipse of the sun; at Præneste* blazing stones had fallen from the sky; at Arpi shields had been seen in the sky, and the sun had seemed to fight with the moon; at Capua two moons had risen in the day time; the stream at Cære† had flowed half blood; gouts of blood had been seen on the water that dripped from the spring of Hercules; reapers in the fields near Antium‡ had seen the ears fall all bloody into the basket; at Falerii the sky had seemed parted by a huge cleft, while an overpowering light shone forth from the opening; certain oracle tablets had spontaneously shrunk, and on one that fell out were the words "MARS SHAKES HIS SPEAR"; at the same time, at Rome, sweat came out on the statue of Mars that stands in the Appian Road by the images of the wolves; at Capua the sky had seemed to be on fire, and a moon to fall in the midst of a shower. Then men began to believe less solemn marvels. Some persons had had goats become sheep; a hen had changed into a cock, and a cock into a hen. The consul gave the whole story at length, as it had been told him, at the same time introducing into the Senate those who vouched for it, and asked the opinion of the House on the religious aspect of the matter.

More portents.

* Palestrina.

† Cervetri.

‡ Porto d'Anzo.

It was resolved that such expiation should be made as these portents demanded, with victims, some of which should be full-grown, some sucklings; that public prayers should be offered during three days at every shrine. Everything else was to be done after the College of the Ten had inspected the holy books, in such fashion as they might declare from the prophecies to be pleasing to the gods. They ordered that the first offering, of gold weighing fifty pounds, should be made to Jupiter, that to Juno and Minerva offerings of silver should be presented; that full-grown victims should be sacrificed to Juno the Queen on the Aventine Hill, and to Juno the Preserver at Lanuvium§; § Cività Lavinia.

Solemn religious ceremonies.

BOOK XXII. that the matrons, collecting a sum of money, as much as it might be convenient for each to contribute, should carry it as an offering to Juno the Queen on the Aventine ; that a religious feast should be held, and that even the very freedwomen should raise contributions according to their means for a gift to the goddess Feronia. After all this the College of the Ten sacrificed full-grown victims in the market-place at Ardea. Last of all, as late as December, a sacrifice was made at the temple of Saturn in Rome ; a religious feast was ordered (furnished by the Senators) and a public banquet ; and a festival of Saturn to last a day and a night proclaimed throughout Rome. This day the people were enjoined to keep and observe as a holiday for ever.

*Hannibal makes
his way into
Etruria through
the marshes of
the Arno.*

* Arezzo.

2. While the consul was busy at Rome propitiating the gods and holding a levy, Hannibal, who had quitted his winter quarters, heard that the consul Flaminius had already reached Arretium.* Accordingly, though another route, longer indeed but more convenient, was open to him, he took the nearer way across the marshes of the Arno, which happened at the time to be more flooded than usual. He arranged that the Spanish and African soldiers, who were the whole strength of his veteran army, should go first, taking in their columns their own baggage, that wherever they might be compelled to halt, supplies might not fail them ; the Gauls were to follow, occupying the middle of the line of march ; last were to come the cavalry ; after these Mago with some light Numidian troopers was to close up the line, and especially to keep the Gauls together, if, weary of the long and toilsome march (and this is a thing which they are ill fitted to endure), they began to straggle or halt. The first columns, wherever the guides led the way, through deep and almost bottomless pools of the river, nearly swallowed up in the mud and plunging into the water, still followed the standards. The Gauls could not recover their footing when they slipped, nor extricate themselves from the pools ; without spirit to eke out their strength, without hope to eke out their spirit, some just dragged along their weary limbs, others fainted in sheer despair and lay dying amid crowds of dying horses. Of all things it was the want of sleep, and this they had to endure for four days and three nights, that most exhausted them. The floods were everywhere, and not a spot of dry ground could be found where they might rest their weary

*Miseries of the
march.*

bodies. They could just pile up the baggage in the water and lie down on the top; or the heaps of horses that had perished all along the line of march just stood out of the water and supplied the necessary place where they might snatch a few moments, repose. Hannibal himself, whose eyes suffered from the trying weather of the spring, with its great variations of heat and cold, rode on the one elephant which was left, that he might be as high as possible above the water. But long watches, together with the damps of night and the moist climate, affected his head; there was no place or time for the application of remedies, and he lost one of his eyes.

3. At last he struggled out of the marshes, after losing amid horrible misery a multitude of men and horses, and pitched his camp on the first spot of dry ground that he reached. Here he learnt from the scouts whom he had sent forward, that the Roman army lay round the walls of Arretium. From that time he continued to acquaint himself by the most diligent inquiry with all particulars, the consul's plans, his temper, the geography of the country, his movements, his facilities for procuring supplies, everything in fact which it might serve him to know. The district was one of the most fertile in Italy, the Etrurian plain lying between Fæsulæ and Arretium, a country rich in corn and cattle and all kinds of wealth.

*Position of the
Roman army.*

Flaminius, full of the fierce memories of his first consulship, stood in little awe not merely of the laws and of the dignity of the Senators, but even of the gods. The good fortune which had given him success at home and in the field, had fostered this natural recklessness. It was plain, then, that one who was equally careless of God and man would be utterly rash and headstrong. That he might yield the sooner to his special failings, the Carthaginian general laid his plans to harass and provoke him. He marched on Fæsulæ, leaving his enemy on the left, made his way, plundering as he went, through the heart of Etruria, and making the consul behold from afar all the devastation which fire and sword could possibly spread.

*Rashness of
Flaminius.*

Flaminius, who had the enemy sat still would not have sat still himself, now saw the possessions of the allies pillaged almost under his eyes, and regarded it as a personal disgrace that the Carthaginian chief should rove at his will through the very

BOOK XXII. heart of Italy and march unopposed to assault the very walls of Rome. Every other voice in the council of war was raised for a policy of safety rather than of display. "Wait for your "colleague," they said; "when your armies are united, you may "conduct your campaign on one common purpose and plan: "meanwhile the cavalry and the light-armed auxiliaries must "check the enemy in their wild license of plunder."

*He gives the
order for an
advance.*

Full of fury, Flaminius rushed out of the council. He ordered the trumpets to give the signal for march and battle, crying, "We "are to sit, I suppose, before the walls of Arretium, because our "country and our home are here. Hannibal we let slip out of our "hands, and let him ravage Italy and plunder and approach the "very walls of Rome, but we are not to move hence till the Senate "send to Arretium for Flaminius, just as in old days they sent "to Veii for Camillus." With these fierce words on his lips he ordered the standard to be pulled out of the ground with all haste, and himself leapt upon his horse, when lo! in a moment the horse fell, throwing the consul over his head. Amid the terror of all who stood near—for this was an ill omen for the beginning of a campaign—came a message to say that the standard could not be wrenched from the ground, though the standard-bearer had exerted all his strength. Turning to the messenger, the consul said, "Perhaps you bring me a despatch "from the Senate, forbidding me to fight. Go, tell them to dig "the standard out, if their hands are so numb with fear that they "cannot wrench it up." The army then began its march. The superior officers, not to speak of their having dissented from the plan, were alarmed by these two portents; the soldiers generally were delighted with their headstrong chief. Full of confidence, they thought little on what their confidence was founded.

4. Hannibal devastated with all the horrors of war the country between Cortona and Lake Trasumennus, seeking to infuriate the Romans into avenging the sufferings of their allies. They had now reached a spot made for an ambuscade, where the lake comes up close under the hills of Cortona. Between them is nothing but a very narrow road, for which room seems to have been purposely left. Further on is some comparatively broad level ground. From this rise the hills, and here in the open plain Hannibal pitched a camp for himself and his African and

*Hannibal's
disposition of his
troops.*

Spanish troops only ; his slingers and other light-armed troops he marched to the rear of the hills ; his cavalry he stationed at the mouth of the defile, behind some rising ground which conveniently sheltered them. When the Romans had once entered the pass and the cavalry had barred the way, all would be hemmed in by the lake and the hills.

Flaminius had reached the lake at sunset the day before. On the morrow, without reconnoitring and while the light was still uncertain, he traversed the narrow pass. As his army began to deploy into the widening plain, he could see only that part of the enemy's force which was in front of him ; he knew nothing of the ambuscade in his rear and above his head. The Carthaginian saw his wish accomplished. He had his enemy shut in by the lake and the hills and surrounded by his own troops. He gave the signal for a general charge, and the attacking columns flung themselves on the nearest points. To the Romans the attack was all the more sudden and unexpected because the mist from the lake lay thicker on the plains than on the heights, while the hostile columns on the various hills had been quite visible to each other and had therefore advanced in concert. As for the Romans, with the shout of battle rising all round them, before they could see plainly, they found themselves surrounded, and fighting begun in their front and their flanks before they could form in order, get ready their arms, or draw their swords.

5. Amidst universal panic the consul showed all the courage that could be expected in circumstances so alarming. The broken ranks, in which every one was turning to catch the discordant shouts, he re-formed as well as time and place permitted, and, as far as his presence or his voice could reach, bade his men stand their ground and fight. "It is not by prayers," he cried, "or entreaties to the gods, but by strength and courage that you must win your way out. The sword cuts a path through the midst of the battle ; and the less fear, there for the most part the less danger." But, such was the uproar and confusion, neither encouragements nor commands could be heard ; so far were the men from knowing their standards, their ranks, or their places, that they had scarcely presence of mind to snatch up their arms and address them to the fight, and some found

*Destruction of
the Roman
army.*

BOOK XXII. them an overwhelming burden rather than a protection. So dense too was the mist that the ear was of more service than the eye. The groans of the wounded, the sound of blows on body or armour, the mingled shouts of triumph or panic, made them turn this way and that an eager gaze. Some would rush in their flight on a dense knot of combatants and become entangled in the mass; others returning to the battle would be carried away by the crowd of fugitives. But after a while, when charges had been vainly tried in every direction, when it was seen that the hills and the lake shut them in on either side, and the hostile lines in front and rear, when it was manifest that the only hope of safety lay in their own right hands and swords, then every man began to look to himself for guidance and for encouragement, and there began afresh what was indeed a new battle. No battle was it with its three ranks of combatants, its vanguard before the standards and its second line fighting behind them, with every soldier in his own legion, cohort, or company: chance massed them together, and each man's impulse assigned him his post, whether in the van or rear. So fierce was their excitement, so intent were they on the battle, that not one of the combatants felt the earthquake which laid whole quarters of many Italian cities in ruins, changed the channels of rapid streams, drove the sea far up into rivers, and brought down enormous landslips from the hills.

6. For nearly three hours they fought, fiercely everywhere, but with especial rage and fury round the consul. It was to him that the flower of the army attached themselves. He, wherever he found his troops pressed hard or distressed, was indefatigable in giving help; conspicuous in his splendid arms, the enemy assailed and his fellow-Romans defended him with all their might. At last an Insubrian trooper (his name was Ducarius), recognising him also by his face, cried to his comrades, "See! this is the man who slaughtered our legions, and laid waste our fields and our city; I will offer him as a sacrifice to the shades of my countrymen whom he so foully slew." Putting spurs to his horse, he charged through the thickest of the enemy, struck down the armour-bearer who threw himself in the way of his furious advance, and ran the consul through with his lance. When he

would have stripped the body, some veterans thrust their shields between and hindered him. BOOK XXII.

Then began the flight of a great part of the army. And now neither lake nor mountain checked their rush of panic ; by every defile and height they sought blindly to escape, and arms and men were heaped upon each other. Many finding no possibility of flight, waded into the shallows at the edge of the lake, advanced until they had only head and shoulders above the water, and at last drowned themselves. Some in the frenzy of panic endeavoured to escape by swimming ; but the endeavour was endless and hopeless, and they either sunk in the depths when their courage failed them, or they wearied themselves in vain till they could hardly struggle back to the shallows, where they were slaughtered in crowds by the enemy's cavalry which had now entered the water. Nearly six thousand men of the vanguard made a determined rush through the enemy, and got clear out of the defile, knowing nothing of what was happening behind them. Halting on some high ground, they could only hear the shouts of men and clashing of arms, but could not learn or see for the mist how the day was going. It was when the battle was decided that the increasing heat of the sun scattered the mist and cleared the sky. The bright light that now rested on hill and plain showed a ruinous defeat and a Roman army shamefully routed. Fearing that they might be seen in the distance and that the cavalry might be sent against them, they took up their standards and hurried away with all the speed they could. The next day, finding their situation generally desperate, and starvation also imminent, they capitulated to Hannibal, who had overtaken them with the whole of his cavalry, and who pledged his word that if they would surrender their arms, they should go free, each man having a single garment. The promise was kept with Punic faith by Hannibal, who put them all in chains.

7. Such was the famous fight at Trasumennus, memorable as few other disasters of the Roman people have been. Fifteen thousand men fell in the battle ; ten thousand, flying in all directions over Etruria, made by different roads for Rome. Of the enemy two thousand five hundred fell in the battle. Many died afterwards of their wounds. Other authors

BOOK XXII. speak of a loss on both sides many times greater. I am myself averse to the idle exaggeration to which writers are so commonly inclined, and I have here followed as my best authority Fabius, who was actually contemporary with the war. Hannibal released without ransom all the prisoners who claimed Latin citizenship; the Romans he imprisoned. He had the corpses of his own men separated from the vast heaps of dead, and buried. Careful search was also made for the body of Flaminius to which he wished to pay due honour, but it could not be found.

*Consternation at
Rome.*

At Rome the first tidings of this disaster brought a terror-stricken and tumultuous crowd into the Forum. The matrons wandered through the streets and asked all whom they met what was this disaster of which news had just arrived, and how the army had fared. A crowd, thick as a thronged assembly, with eyes intent upon the Senate-house, called aloud for the magistrates, till at last, not long before sunset, the prætor, Marcus Pomponius, said, "We have been beaten in a great battle." Nothing more definite than this was said by him; but each man had reports without end to tell his neighbour, and the news which they carried back to their homes was that the consul had perished with a great part of his troops, that the few who had survived were either dispersed throughout Etruria, or taken prisoners by the enemy.

The mischances of the beaten army were not more numerous than the anxieties which distracted the minds of those whose relatives had served under Flaminius. All were utterly ignorant how this or that kinsman had fared; no one even quite knew what to hope or to fear. On the morrow, and for some days after, there stood at the gates a crowd in which the women even outnumbered the men, waiting to see their relatives or hear some tidings about them. They thronged round all whom they met, with incessant questions, and could not tear themselves away, least of all leave any acquaintance, till they had heard the whole story to an end. Different indeed were their looks as they turned away from the tale which had filled them either with joy or grief, and friends crowded round to congratulate or console them as they returned to their homes. The women were most conspicuous for their transports and their grief.

Within one of the very gates, a woman unexpectedly meeting a son who had escaped, died, it is said, in his embrace; another who had had false tidings of her son's death and sat sorrowing at home, expired from excessive joy when she caught sight of him entering the house. The prætors for some days kept the Senate in constant session from sunrise to sunset, deliberating who was to lead an army, and what army was to be led against the victorious foe.

8. Before any definite plans could be formed, there came without warning news of another disaster. Four thousand cavalry, sent with the consul Servilius under the command of the proprætor Caius Centenius to the help of Flaminius, had been surrounded by Hannibal in Umbria, into which country they had marched on hearing of the battle at Trasumennus. The tidings of this occurrence affected men very variously. Some, whose thoughts were wholly occupied by the greater trouble, counted this fresh loss of a body of cavalry a mere trifle in comparison with the previous disasters; others felt that this incident could not be taken as standing by itself. In a weakened frame, the most insignificant cause is felt as causes far more serious are not felt in the healthy; so, they argued, any loss that falls upon a suffering and weakened State must be estimated not by its intrinsic magnitude, but by the impaired strength, which can endure nothing that would increase its burden. The country hastily betook itself to a remedy which had not been either wanted or employed for many years, the creation of a dictator. But the consul was absent, and it was the consul only, it would seem, who could create him; it was no easy matter to send him a messenger or a letter with the Carthaginian armies in possession of Italy; nor could the Senate make a dictator without consulting the people. In the end a step wholly unprecedented was taken. The people created Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator, and Marcus Minucius Rufus master of the horse. The Senate charged them to strengthen the walls and towers of the city, to put garrisons in whatever places they thought best, and to break down the bridges over the rivers. Italy they could not defend, but they could still fight for their city and their homes.

Tidings of fresh disaster.

Fabius Maximus created dictator.

9. Hannibal marched straight through Umbria to Spoletum.*

* Spoletum.

BOOK XXII.
*Hannibal fails
 in an attempt
 on Spoletum.*

From this place he was repulsed with great loss, when, after devastating the country, he attempted the city by assault. It was not one of the largest colonies, and having tried its strength with such ill success, he was led to reflect what a vast undertaking Rome itself would be. Accordingly he turned aside to the territory of Picenum, a country abounding in produce of every kind, and richly stored with property which the rapacious and needy soldiery plundered with eagerness. There he kept his army stationary for a few days, refreshing his men exhausted by winter marches, by their passage through the marshes, and by a battle, which, however successful in its issue, had been no slight or easy struggle. A short rest was enough for a soldiery which loved plunder and ravage more than ease and repose. Then moving forward he wasted the district of Præ-tutia* and Hadria, and next the country of the Marsi, Marrucini and Peligni, with the region round Arpi and Luceria,† near the borders of Apulia. The consul Cn. Servilius had had meanwhile some slight engagements with the Gauls, and had stormed one town of no note. When he heard that the other consul with his army had perished, he trembled for his country's safety, and resolving not to be absent in its hour of peril, marched rapidly to Rome.

*He ravages
 Picenum and
 the adjoining
 districts.*

* Abruzzo.

† Lucera.

*Servilius falls
 back on Rome.*

On the day that Q. Fabius Maximus, who was now dictator for the second time, entered upon his office, he convoked the Senate. He began with mention of the gods; it was, he proved to the Senators, in neglect of religious rites and auspices rather than in rashness and want of skill that the error of Flaminius had lain, and heaven itself, he urged, must be asked how the anger of heaven could be propitiated. He thus prevailed upon them to do what is scarcely ever done except when the most sinister marvels have been observed, to order the Ten to consult the books of the Sibyl. They inspected the volumes of destiny, and reported to the Senate that, seeing that a vow to Mars was the cause of the war, this vow, not having been duly performed, must be performed anew and on a larger scale, that games of the first class must be vowed to Jupiter, a temple to Venus of Eryx and another to Reason, that there must be a public litany and a banquet of the gods and a year of consecration vowed, if the arms of Rome should be found to have prospered and the State

*The Sibylline
 books consulted.*

to remain in the same position which it had occupied before the war. The Senate, knowing that Fabius would be occupied with the business of the campaign, directed the prætor, Marcus Æmilius, who had been nominated by the College of Pontiffs, to see all things speedily done. BOOK XXII.

10. These resolutions of the Senate duly passed, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, chief pontiff, declared (for the prætor had the advice of the Sacred College) that the people must be consulted about the year of consecration. Without the people's consent it could not, he said, be vowed. The question was put to the people in these words: "Is it your will and pleasure that it shall be done as is hereinafter set forth? If the common weal of the Roman people and of the Quirites be kept, according to my wish and prayer, whole and safe for the five years next following in these wars, to wit, the war that now is with the people of Carthage and the wars that now are with the Gauls dwelling on the hither side of the Alps, then the Roman people and the Quirites give as a free gift, all the increase in the spring next following of swine, sheep, goats, cattle, not being already consecrated, to be sacrificed to Jupiter, on and after the day which the said Senate and people shall appoint. And whosoever shall sacrifice, he may sacrifice whensoever and after what order it shall please him. In what manner soever he shall sacrifice, it shall be counted duly done. If that which should be sacrificed die, then shall it be counted as a thing unconsecrated, and the man shall be free. If any one should hurt or slay a consecrated thing, not knowing, he shall be innocent. If aught should be stolen, the people shall be free and also he from whom it hath been stolen. If a man shall sacrifice on an ill day not knowing, he shall be innocent. If he shall sacrifice by day or by night, if he shall sacrifice, being a slave or free, it shall be counted duly done. If aught shall be sacrificed before that the Senate and the people shall have ordered such sacrifices, the people shall be free and acquitted therefrom." For the same reason games of the first class were vowed at a cost of three hundred and thirty thousand three hundred and thirty three brass pieces and a third, with three hundred oxen besides to Jupiter, and white oxen and the other customary victims to many other deities. When the vows had been duly

*Solemn
ordinances
decreed.*

BOOK XXII. made, a public litany was ordered, to join in which came with their wives and children not only the population of the city, but also the country folk, whom the public troubles were now beginning to touch in some of their interests. Then a sacred banquet was held for three days, under the care of ten ecclesiastical commissioners. Six banqueting tables were publicly exhibited, to Jupiter and Juno one, a second to Neptune and Minerva, a third to Mars and Venus, a fourth to Apollo and Diana, a fifth to Vulcan and Vesta, a sixth to Mercury and Ceres. Then the two temples were vowed, that to Venus of Eryx by the dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus, because it had been given forth from the books of destiny that the vow should be made by him who held the supreme authority in the State; that to Reason by the prætor, T. Otacilius.

*War
preparations.*

II. The duties of religion thus discharged, the dictator brought the state of the war and of the country before the Senate, which had to determine what and how many should be the legions with which the victorious enemy must be met. It was resolved that he should take over the army of the consul Servilius, should enlist into the cavalry and infantry as many citizens and allies as he thought fit, and should generally act as he considered best for the good of the State. Fabius said that he should add two legions to the army of Servilius. These the master of the horse was to levy, and the dictator named a day on which they were to assemble at Tibur.* He made proclamation that all inhabitants of unfortified towns and stations should remove into places of safety, that all the population of the country through which Hannibal was likely to pass should desert it, first burning all buildings and destroying all crops that he might find no supplies. He then marched along the Flaminian Road to meet the consul.

* Tivoli.

† Otricoli. On reaching the Tiber, near Otriculum,† he came in view of the army and saw the consul advancing towards him with some troopers; upon this he sent his apparitor with a message to the consul that he was to come to the dictator without his lictors. The consul obeyed him, and their meeting produced a vast impression on citizens and allies, who had almost forgotten what this obsolete office of dictator meant. Then came despatches from Rome with news that some merchantmen, carrying

tores from Ostia to the army in Spain, had been taken by a Carthaginian fleet near the harbour of Cosa. Fabius immediately ordered the consul to start for Ostia, to man any ships that might be there or at Rome with soldiers and seamen, to pursue the enemy's fleet, and to protect the coasts of Italy. A vast number of men had been enlisted at Rome. Even freedmen, having children and being of the military age, had taken the oath. Out of these city troops such as were under thirty-five were sent to man the ships, others were left to garrison the city.

12. The dictator took over the consul's army from the hands of Fulvius Flaccus, second in command, and then, traversing the Sabine country, came to Tibur, where he had commanded the new levies to meet by a certain day. From Tibur he marched to Præneste, and so, by cross ways, to the Latin Road; and then, always reconnoitring his ground most carefully, advanced against the enemy, resolved nowhere to risk anything more than necessity might compel. The first day that he pitched his camp in sight of the enemy (the place was not far from Arpi), Hannibal, without a moment's delay, led out his men and offered battle. When he saw that all was quiet in the Roman army, and that there was no sign of any stir in their camp, he returned to his quarters, loudly exclaiming that at last the martial spirit of Rome was broken—they had made open confession of defeat and yielded the palm of glory and valour. But in his heart was a secret fear that he had now to deal with a general very different from Flaminius or Sempronius, and that, taught by disasters, the Romans had at last found a general equal to himself. He felt at once afraid of the wariness of the new dictator; of his firmness he had not yet made trial, and so began to harass and provoke him by repeatedly moving his camp and wasting under his eyes the territory of the allies. At one time he would make a rapid march and disappear; at another he would make a sudden halt, concealed some winding road, where he hoped that he might catch his antagonist descending to the plain. Fabius continued to move his forces along high ground, preserving a moderate distance from the enemy, neither letting him out of his sight or encountering him. He kept his soldiers within their camp,

*Cautious tactics
of Fabius.*

BOOK XXII. unless they were required for some necessary service. When they went in quest of forage or wood, it was not in small parties or at random. Pickets of cavalry and light troops were told off and kept in readiness to meet sudden alarms, a constant protection to his own troops, a constant terror to the vagrant marauders of the enemy. He refused to stake his all on the hazard of a general engagement, but slight encounters, of little importance with a refuge so near, could be safely ventured on; and a soldiery demoralised by former disasters were thus habituated to think more hopefully of their own courage and good luck. But these sober counsels found an adversary not only in Hannibal, but quite as much in his own master of the horse who, headstrong and rash in counsel and intemperate in speech, was kept from ruining his country only by the want of power. First to a few listeners, then openly before the ranks of the army he stigmatised his commander as more indolent than deliberate, more cowardly than cautious, fastening on him failings which were akin to his real virtues, and seeking to exalt himself by lowering his chief—a vile art, which has often thriven by a too successful practice.

*Hannibal
marches into
Samnium, and
thence into
Campania.*

* Benevento.

13. Hannibal passed from the territory of the Hirpini into Samnium, ravaged the country round Beneventum,* and took the town of Telesia, still purposely provoking the Roman general, in the hope that the insults and injuries inflicted on the allies might rouse him into fighting a pitched battle. Among the crowd of Italian allies who had been taken prisoners at Trasumennus by Hannibal and set at liberty, were three Campanian knights, whom the Carthaginians had then won over, by liberal gifts and promises, to undertake the task of conciliating to him the affections of their countrymen. They now came and told him that if he would move his army into Campania, he would have an opportunity of securing Capua; the matter seemed too important for the authority on which it rested; Hannibal now doubted, now believed, but was so far moved as to make his way from Campania into Samnium. His informants he sent away with repeated warnings that they must give some substantial proof of their promises, and with instructions to return to him with a more numerous company, some of whom must be men of importance. He gave personal orders to the guide t

take him to the territory of Casinum,* those who knew the country having informed him that by occupying that pass he could close the outlet by which the Romans might send help to their allies. But the Carthaginian pronunciation was so different from the Latin, that the guide mistook Casinum for Casilinum,† and Hannibal, taken out of his intended route, came down through Allifæ,‡ Callifæ, and Cales,§ on the plains of Stella. When he looked round on the country, which is shut in by hills and rivers, he sent for the guide and asked him where in the world he was. The man told him that he would have his quarters that day at Casilinum. Then at last he discovered the mistake, and heard that Casinum was far away in another direction. The guide was scourged and crucified to terrify his fellows. Hannibal then fortified his camp, and sent out Maharbal with his cavalry to plunder the territory of Falernum. His ravages extended as far as the Baths of Sinuessa.¶ Great was the damage, but yet greater and more widespread was the panic and terror caused by the Numidian troopers; but though war raged all around them, all its terrors failed to shake the loyalty of our allies. The truth was that they were under a righteous and moderate rule, and they yielded—and this is the only true bond of loyalty—a willing obedience to their betters.

14. But when Hannibal had encamped by the Volturnus, and the fairest lands of Italy were being wasted by fire, and the smoke of burning houses went up in every direction, then the mutinous spirit almost broke out afresh in the army which Fabius was leading along the ridge of the Massic range. For some days, indeed, the troops had been quiet; the army had been marching more rapidly than usual, and they had fancied that this haste was to save Campania from ravage. But when they reached the last spur on the Massic range and saw the enemy beneath them burning every building in the Falernian district, or belonging to the citizens of Sinuessa, and yet heard not a word about fighting, then Minucius broke forth: "Have we come hither to see, as though it were some delightful spectacle, our allies wasted by fire and sword? Are we not ashamed to think—if of none else—yet at least of these fellow-citizens of ours, whom our fathers sent to colonise Sinuessa, and so to protect this region from our Samnite enemies; and

BOOK XXII.

* San Germano.

He is guided by mistake to Casilinum instead of Casinum.

† Capoua.

‡ Alife.

§ Calvi.

¶ Mandragone.

Mutiny in Fabius's army stirred up by his master of the horse.

BOOK XXII. "now it is not the Samnite from beyond the border, but the
"Carthaginian from beyond the sea that has been allowed by
"our delays and our indolence to make his way hither from the
"very ends of the earth? We have so degenerated from our
"fathers that we calmly see the very country, by whose
"shores they thought it an insult to our power for a Cartha-
"ginian fleet to cruise, crowded with enemies, savages from
"Numidia and Mauretania. We, too, who the other day, in our
"wrath that Saguntum should be assailed, appealed not only to
"men, but to heaven and the faith of treaties, now idly gaze on
"Hannibal as he climbs the walls of a colony of Rome. The
"smoke from burning houses and fields is blown into our eyes
"and faces ; our ears are deafened with the clamour of allies
"who cry for help to us even more than to the gods. And we
"are leading our army, as if they were cattle, through summer
"pastures and out-of-the-way tracks, hiding ourselves in mists
"and forests. If Marcus Furius had thought to recover our
"capital from the Gauls by this plan of wandering over pastures
"and hills by which this new Camillus, this wonderful dictator,
"who has been found for us in our troubles, is seeking to save
"Italy from Hannibal, Rome would now be a city of the Gauls ;
"and much I fear that, if we thus linger, our fathers saved it
"again and again for Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But
"that true man and true Roman, as soon as tidings came to
"Veii that he had been named dictator at the instance of
"the Senate, and bidding of the people, though Janiculum was
"quite high enough for him to sit and survey the enemy, came
"down to the plain, and slaughtered the legions of the Gaul on
"that very day in the middle of the city where now stand the
"Gauls' 'Tombs,' and on the next day between Rome and Gabii.
"What? when many years after this we were sent under the
"yoke at the Caudine Forks by our Samnite foes, was it, pray,
"by wandering over the Samnite hills, or by assailing and
"beleaguering Luceria, and by challenging the victorious enemy
"that L. Papirius Cursor shook the yoke from off Roman necks
"and placed it on the haughty Samnite? What was it a few years
"ago but speedy action that gave Caius Lutatius his victory? The
"very day after catching sight of the enemy, he destroyed their
"fleet, burdened as it was with stores, and hampered with its

own tackling and equipment. It is folly to think that the war can be finished by sitting still and praying. You must take your arms ; you must go down to the plain ; you must meet the enemy man to man. It is by boldness and action that the power of Rome has grown, not by these counsels of indolence, which only cowards call caution."

A throng of tribunes and Roman knights crowded round Minucius as he played the popular orator, and his fierce words reached even to the ears of the soldiers. All showed plainly enough that, if the matter could have been put to a vote of the army, they would have had Minucius rather than Fabius for their leader.

15. Fabius had to be on his guard against his own men as much as against the enemy, and made them feel that they could not conquer his resolution. Though he knew well that his policy of delay was odious, not only in his own camp, but also at Rome, yet he steadfastly adhered to the same plan of action, and so let the summer wear away, till Hannibal, losing all hope of the pitched battle, which he had made every effort to bring on, began to look out for a place for winter-quarters, the country which he occupied being one of temporary, rather than permanent plenty, a land of orchards and vineyards planted rather for pleasure than utility. Fabius learnt all this from his scouts. When he was quite sure that Hannibal meant to leave the Falernian country by the same passes by which he had entered it, he occupied Mount Callicula and Casilinum in some force. The town of Casilinum is divided into two parts by the river Volturnus, and thus separates the Falernian country from Campania. His main army he led back along the same range, while he sent L. Hostilius Mancinus to reconnoitre with five hundred cavalry of the allies. Mancinus was one of the crowd of youths who frequently listened to the fierce harangues of the master of the horse. At first he moved simply as the leader of a reconnaissance, watching the enemy from a place of safety, but when he saw the Numidian troops scattered everywhere in the villages, and even cut off a few of them by a sudden surprise, he was once full of the thought of battle, and wholly forgot the dictator's instructions, which were that he should advance as far as he safely could, but should retreat before he could

BOOK XXII.

Fabius still adheres to his cautious tactics.

Rashness of one of his officers, who is defeated and slain in a cavalry skirmish.

BOOK XXII.

be seen by the enemy. The Numidians, now attacking, now retreating, drew him on, his men and horses alike exhausted, to the very rampart of their camp. Here Carthalo, who was in supreme command of the cavalry, charged at full gallop, sent his adversary flying before he came within javelin throw, and followed the fugitives for five miles continuously. When Mancinus saw that the enemy would not desist from the pursuit, and that he had no hope of escaping, he encouraged his men, and turned to fight, though in no respect was he a match for his foe. And so he and the best of his troopers were surrounded and slain; the others made their escape in wild confusion, first to Cales, and thence by tracks which were scarcely passable to the dictator's army.

It so happened that Minucius had that day rejoined Fabius. He had been sent to post a force in the pass above Tarracina * where it contracts into a gorge close upon the sea. This was to prevent the Carthaginian from making his way along the Appian Road into the country round Rome. Having united their forces, the dictator and the master of the horse moved their camp down from the hills on to the road along which Hannibal would have to march. The distance between them and the enemy was two miles.

16. The following day the Carthaginian army occupied the whole space between the two camps. The Romans had taken up a position close under their intrenchments. Though it certainly gave them an advantage, yet the Carthaginians advanced with their light cavalry to provoke a battle. They fought alternately charging and retreating. The Roman army kept its ground. The conflict was protracted, and more to the satisfaction of Fabius than of Hannibal. Two hundred of the Romans, eight hundred of the enemy fell.

Embarrassing position of Hannibal. He frees himself by a singular stratagem.

† Mola di Gæta.
‡ Tor di Patria

Hannibal now seemed shut in. The road to Casilinum was blocked; and while there were Capua, and Samnium, and wealthy allies without end in their rear to furnish the Roman with supplies, the Carthaginians would have to winter amid the rocks of Formiæ,† the sands and marshes of Liternum,‡ and in wild forests. Hannibal was quite aware that he was being met by a strategy like his own, as he could not escape by way of Casilinum, but must make for the hills and

cross the ridge of Callicula, before the Romans could attack his army, shut in as it was by the valleys. Accordingly, to deceive his foe, he contrived an optical illusion of most alarming appearance, and resolved to move stealthily up the hills at nightfall. The deception was thus arranged.—Firewood was collected from all the country round, and bundles of twigs and dry fagots were fastened to the horns of oxen, of which he had many, from the plundered rural districts, both broken and unbroken to the plough. Upwards of two thousand oxen were thus treated, and Hasdrubal was entrusted with the business of driving this herd, with their horns alight, on to the hills, more particularly, as he best could, to those above the passes occupied by the enemy.

17. In the dusk of evening, he silently struck his camp ; the oxen were driven a little in front of the standards. When they reached the foot of the mountain, where the roads narrowed, the signal was immediately given to hurry the herd with their horns alight up the slope of the hills. They rushed on, goaded into madness by the terror of the flames which flashed from their heads, and by the heat which soon reached the flesh at the root of their horns. At this sudden rush all the hickets seemed to be in a blaze, and the very woods and mountains to have been fired ; and when the beasts vainly shook their heads, it seemed as if men were running about in every direction. The troops posted in the pass, seeing fires on the hill-tops and above them, fancied that they had been surrounded, and left their position. They made for the loftiest heights as being their safest route, for it was there that the fewest flashes of light were visible ; but even there they fell in with some of the oxen which had strayed from their herd. When they saw them at a distance, they stood thunderstruck at what seemed to be the miracle of oxen breathing fire. As soon as it was seen to be nothing but a human contrivance, they suspected some deep stratagem and fled in wilder confusion than ever. They also fell in with some of the enemy's light-armed troops, but both sides were equally afraid in the darkness to attack, and so they remained until dawn. Meanwhile Hannibal had led his whole army through the pass, cutting off, as he went, some of his opponents, and pitched his camp in the territory of Allifæ.

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18. Fabius heard the uproar, but suspecting some stratagem, and in any case averse to fighting by night, he kept his men within their lines. At dawn there was skirmishing under the ridge of the hill, where the Romans cut off some light troops from the main body, and would have easily beaten them, as they were somewhat superior in number, but for the appearance of a Spanish cohort, which Hannibal had sent back to provide for the emergency. The Spaniards were more used to hills; what with their nimble frames and suitable arms, they were lighter and so better able than the Romans to fight among crags and rocks, and they easily baffled in such encounters their lowland foe, with his heavy armour and stationary tactics. After a conflict that was anything but even, they parted, the Spaniards almost all unhurt, the Romans with considerable loss, and so made each for their camp.

Fabius also moved his camp and traversing the pass, occupied a strong and elevated position above Allifæ. Upon this Hannibal made a feint as if he intended to advance on Rome through Samnium, and turned back, ravaging as he went, to the Pelignian country. Fabius marched along the heights, keeping between the enemy's army and the capital, neither avoiding nor attacking him. Leaving the Peligni, Hannibal altered his route and fell back into Apulia to Gereonium, a town which its inhabitants had deserted in alarm at the fall of a great part of their walls. The dictator fortified a camp in the district of Larinum.* From this place he was summoned to Rome on religious business. By advice, and even by entreaties, as well as by his actual authority, he urged the master of the horse to trust to prudence rather than to fortune, and to take himself rather than a Sempronius or a Flaminius as his model of a general. "He must not fancy," he said, "that nothing had been achieved when a summer had been nearly spent in baffling the enemy; the physician often accomplished more by doing nothing than by movement and action. It was no small matter that they had ceased to be vanquished by an enemy who had vanquished them so often, and had begun to breathe again after incessant disasters." After impressing these counsels, but all to no purpose, on the master of the horse, he set out for Rome.

* Larino Vecchio.

Fabius is summoned to Rome, and leaves Minucius in command.

19. In the beginning of the summer in which all this happened hostilities commenced in Spain both by land and sea. Hasdrubal added ten ships to the fleet which he had received from his brother ready equipped for action. He gave Himilco a squadron of forty ships, and then, starting from New Carthage, he advanced with his ships close to land and his army on the shore, prepared to give battle to the enemy in whatever form he might encounter him. At first Cn. Scipio, on hearing that the enemy had moved out of his winter-quarters, had the same intention. But second thoughts made him shrink from a battle on land, so great was the fame of the enemy's new auxiliaries; and embarking some of his picked troops he went to meet the enemy with a squadron of five-and-thirty ships. On the day after leaving Tarraco he reached an anchorage ten miles distant from the mouth of the Ebro. He had sent in advance two Massilian vessels to reconnoitre. These brought back news that the fleet of the Carthaginians was at anchor in the mouth of the river, and their camp pitched on the banks.

Scipio weighed anchor and advanced against the enemy, hoping to take him unaware and unprepared, and to crush him in the panic of a general attack. There are many towers in Spain built on high ground, which they use both as watch-towers and as defences against robbers. From one of these the hostile fleet was first descried, and the signal given to Hasdrubal. Thus it was on land and in the camp that the alarm first arose, not by the sea or among the ships, where no one could yet hear the dash of the oar, or any other sound of the kind, and the projecting cliffs did not allow the fleet to be seen. That moment came from Hasdrubal horseman after horseman. The men, who were wandering about the shore or sleeping in their tents, thinking of anything rather than of the enemy and of a battle to be fought that very day, were ordered instantly to man their ships and arm themselves; the Roman fleet, it was said, was close to the harbour. Troopers were sent hither and thither with these orders. Soon Hasdrubal himself came up with his whole army. All was uproar and confusion; rowers and sailors rushed together into the ships, which seemed to be flying from the shore rather than going to battle. Before all were well on board, some unfastened

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*Defeat of a
Carthaginian
fleet.*

their cables and drifted towards their anchors ; others, to have nothing to check them, cut the anchor-ropes. Everything was done with excessive haste and hurry ; the preparations of the soldiers hindered the sailors in their work ; the panic of the sailors prevented the soldiers from arming themselves or preparing for battle. By this time the Romans were more than approaching ; they were bringing their ships straight to the attack. The Carthaginians were confounded quite as much by their own disorder as by the assault of the enemy ; after essaying to fight, rather than fighting, they turned their ships to fly ; they could not of course get into the mouth of the river in their rear, with so widely extended a line, and so many crowding in together. Accordingly they drove their ships ashore in every direction, and then, plunging into the shallows or jumping on to dry land, armed or unarmed, they made their escape to the ranks of friendly troops drawn up along the shore. However, in the first onset two Carthaginian ships were taken and four sunk.

20. The Romans, though the enemy was master on shore, and though they saw the hostile lines extended along the coast, pursued without hesitation the routed fleet. To the stern of every ship which had not shattered its bows on the shore or wedged its keel in the sand they fastened ropes, and so dragged them out to sea. Out of the forty they captured twenty-five.

*The Romans
masters of the
sea off the coast
of Spain.*

However, the best part of their victory was not this, but that by one slight affair they became masters of all the sea that washes that coast. After this the fleet sailed to Onusa and there they made a descent. They stormed and sacked the city, and then made for New Carthage, ravaged all the country round it, and even set fire to the dwellings that adjoined the walls and the gates. From Carthage the fleet went laden with booty to Longuntica, where there was a vast quantity of esparto grass, which Hasdrubal had collected for the use of his fleet. They removed as much as they wanted and set fire to the rest. Nor did they only cruise along the mainland ; they even crossed to the island of Ebusus. Here for two days they assaulted with all their might, but in vain, the capital town of the island. Finding that they were wasting time on what they could not hope to accomplish, they took to plundering the country, sacked

and burnt several villages, and got back to their ships with more plunder than they had collected from the mainland. Here envoys from the Balearic islands came to Scipio to ask for peace. From this point the fleet turned back, and they returned to the eastern side of the province, whither assembled envoys from all the tribes near the Ebro and from many that dwelt in remotest Spain. The tribes who were really brought under the sway of Rome and gave hostages, were more than one hundred and twenty: The Romans now felt fairly confident of the power of their army and marched as far as the pass of Castulo. Hasdrubal retired to Lusitania, where he was nearer to the Atlantic.

21. After this it seemed likely that the rest of the summer would pass quietly, and so it would have as far as the Carthaginians were concerned. But the Spanish temper is always restless and eager for change, and, besides this, Mandonius and Indibilis, formerly prince of the Ilergetes, as soon as the Romans had retired from the pass to the coast, called their tribesmen to arms and came intent on plunder into the peaceful territory of Rome's allies. Scipio sent against them some light-armed auxiliaries under the command of a military tribune, who routed them—they were but an undisciplined rabble—after a slight engagement, killing some, capturing others, and disarming many of the rest. The outbreak, however, induced Hasdrubal to stay his march towards the Atlantic coast, and return to the west bank of the Ebro, where he might defend his allies. The Carthaginian camp was pitched in the neighbourhood of Ilergavonia; that of the Romans at Nova Classis, when fresh news changed all at once the seat of war. The Celtiberi, who were the leading tribe of their part of Spain, had sent ambassadors and given hostages to the Romans, and now at the bidding of an envoy from Scipio, they took up arms and invaded with a powerful army the province of New Carthage. They took three towns by storm; and then fought two brilliantly successful battles with Hasdrubal himself, killing fifteen thousand of the enemy and capturing four thousand, together with many standards.

*Defeat of the
Ilergetes by
Scipio.*

22. This was the state of affairs in Spain when Publius Scipio came into the province. The Senate had prolonged his com-

*Arrival of
Publius Scipio
in Spain.*

BOOK XXII. mand after the end of his consulship, and sent him with thirty ships of war, eight thousand soldiers, and a great supply of provisions. The fleet with its huge array of transports was descried at a great distance, and excited the liveliest joy among citizens and allies when it ended its voyage in the harbour of Tarraco. Scipio landed his troops there and marched to join his brother. Thenceforward the two carried on the campaign with one heart and purpose. As the Carthaginians were occupied with the Celtiberi, they did not hesitate to cross the Ebro, and not seeing an enemy, continued to advance on Saguntum, to which place it was reported that the hostages from the whole of Spain had been transferred by Hannibal, and were there kept in the citadel by but a small guard. It was only this pledge that stayed the universal inclination of the Spanish tribes towards alliance with Rome. They feared lest the guilt of their defection should be expiated by the blood of their children.

From this difficulty Spain was freed by the policy, inglorious rather than honourable, of one man. Abelux was a noble Spaniard at Saguntum. Once he had been loyal to Carthage; but now—and such characters are common among barbarians—with a change of fortune he had changed his allegiance. Feeling that a deserter who went over to the enemy with nothing valuable to betray, brought nothing but his one worthless and disreputable person, he aimed at being as profitable as possible to his new allies. After anxiously considering everything that fortune could possibly put within his reach, he turned his thoughts by preference to delivering up the hostages, the one thing, he knew, which would win for Rome the friendship of the Spanish chiefs. Knowing, however, that the keeper of the hostages would do nothing but at the bidding of Bostar the governor, he brought his arts to bear on Bostar himself. Bostar had established a camp outside the town, quite on the shore, to close against the Romans any approach on that side. Here Abelux took him aside, and explained to him, as he might to a stranger, the aspect of affairs. “Hitherto,” he said, “fear had held the inclinations of the Spaniards in check, because the Romans have been far away; now the Roman camps have been advanced to the west of the Ebro and afford safe shelter

"and refuge to all who desire a change. The men who are no longer ruled by fear, you must bind by kindness and favours."

Bostar was astonished, and wished to know what this unexpected and all-important present could be. "Send back," said Abelux, "the hostages to their states. This will be agreeable to the parents personally, and they have great weight in their own states, and agreeable to the tribes generally. Every one likes to be treated with confidence; to trust a man's loyalty often binds that loyalty the faster. I claim for myself the office of restoring the hostages to their homes; I would expend all possible pains to carry out my plan and add to an act that is graceful in itself all the grace that I can."

Abelux satisfied Bostar, who had scarcely the average shrewdness of a Carthaginian, and then made his way secretly by night to the Roman outposts, where he met some Spanish auxiliaries, who conducted him to Scipio. To him he explained his proposal, gave and received a promise of friendship, arranged a time and place for handing over the hostages, and so returned to Saguntum. The next day he spent with Bostar in receiving instructions for the business in hand. From the governor he went to those who had the custody of the boys, and set out at the exact hour on which he had agreed with the enemy, having arranged to travel by night, for the purpose, he said, of eluding their watch. Thus he led the party, unknowingly, as it seemed, into a trap which his own craft had prepared. They were conducted into the Roman camp, and the whole business of restoring the hostages to their friends, as had been arranged with Bostar, was carried out in exactly the same way as if the thing were being done in the name of Carthage. Yet though the favour was the same, Rome earned considerably more gratitude than Carthage would have done. Carthage they had found tyrannical and haughty in the day of prosperity, and they might well believe that it was disaster and fear that had softened her; Rome, a stranger before, on her very first introduction to them began with an act of kindness and generosity, and the sagacious Abelux seemed to have had good reason for hanging his friends. All now began with surprising unanimity to meditate revolt; and an insurrection would have broken out

*The Spanish
hostages at
Saguntum are
handed over to
the Romans,
who set them at
liberty.*

BOOK XXII. at once but for the interruption of winter, which compelled both Romans and Carthaginians to seek shelter.

23. So much for what happened in Spain in the second summer of the Punic War. In Italy Fabius's wise policy of delay had stayed for a while Rome's disasters. It was a policy of *Unpopularity of Fabius at Rome,* that gave Hannibal no little anxiety, seeing, as he did, that at length the Romans had chosen to direct their arms a man who fought on system, not by chance; but among his own countrymen, soldiers as well as civilians, it was held in contempt, certainly after the master of the horse had in his absence rashly ventured a battle with a result which it would be more correct to call fortunate than successful. Two circumstances increased the dictator's unpopularity. One was due to the falsehood and craft of Hannibal. Deserters had pointed out to him the dictator's estate, and he had given orders that, while everything round it was levelled to the ground, it should be kept safe from fire and sword and all hostile violence, hoping that this forbearance might be thought the consideration for some secret agreement. The other was the result of the dictator's own action—action possibly doubtful for a time, as he had not waited for the Senate's sanction, but finally beyond all question turning out very much to his credit. In the exchange of prisoners it had been agreed between the two generals, following the precedent of the first Punic War, that the side which had more to receive than to hand over should make good as much as two pounds and a half of silver for every man. The Romans had received back two hundred and forty-seven more prisoners than the Carthaginians; finding that after frequent debate on the matter there was delay in voting the money due for these men, because he had not consulted the Senate, he sent his son Quintus to Rome, sold the estate which the enemy had spared, and discharged the public obligation at his own cost.

He sells his land which the enemy had spared to make up the ransom for the Roman prisoners.

Hannibal was in a stationary camp before the walls of Gereonium, a city which he had taken and burnt, but in which he had left a few houses to serve as barns. He sent out two divisions of his army to collect corn, and remained himself with a third division in readiness to move, thus at once protecting his camp and watching against any attack that might be made on his foraging parties.

24. At this time the Roman army was in the country of Larinum, Minucius, master of the horse being in command, the dictator, as I have already said, having started for Rome. The camp, pitched hitherto on the hills, on high and secure ground, was now brought down to the plain, and more energetic measures, suited to the temper of the new general, were discussed for attacking the scattered foragers or the enemy's lines, left as they were with a slender garrison. Hannibal did not fail to perceive that a change of plans had followed a change of generals, and that the foe was likely to show more dash than caution. Very strangely, he now, though the enemy was so near, sent out a third of his troops to forage, and kept two-thirds in his camp. Next he moved the camp itself nearer to the Romans, about two miles away from Gereonium, on to some rising ground within their sight, to make it plain to them that he was bent on protecting his foragers, should an attack be threatened. From this point he saw some high ground yet nearer and actually overhanging the Roman camp. Should he move on it in the broad light of day, it was certain that the enemy, having a shorter space to traverse, would get the start of him; he sent therefore some Numidians who occupied it under cover of darkness.

Next day the Romans, despising the scanty numbers that held the place, attacked them, drove them out, and moved thither their own camp. There was now but a very small space between the rampart and the other, and this was almost wholly occupied by Roman troops. At the same time some cavalry and light armed soldiers darted out against the foragers from the side that was furthest from Hannibal's camp and made a great rout and slaughter in their scattered ranks. And Hannibal did not venture to fight a battle, for a great part of his army was away, and his force was so scanty that he could scarcely protect his camp should it be attacked. He now began to adopt the tactics of Fabius, to sit still and to delay, and retired his men to his first camp outside Gereonium. Some authorities have it that a regular battle was fought; that at the first encounter the Carthaginians were driven in confusion to their camp; that the Romans in their turn were panic-stricken by a sudden sally, and that the day was finally won by the arrival of a Samnite officer,

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*In the absence
of Fabius
Minucius gains
a slight
advantage over
Hannibal.*

BOOK XXII.

* Bojano.

Numerius Decimius. Numerius, whose birth and wealth made him the first man, not only in Bovianum,* his native place, but in the whole of Samnium, was marching eight thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry into the camp by order of the dictator; he could now be seen by Hannibal in his rear, and presented the appearance of reinforcements coming from Rome with Fabius. Hannibal, fearing some stratagem, drew back his troops; the Romans pursued, and with the help of the Samnites, stormed that same day two redoubts. Of the enemy there fell six, of the Romans five thousand men; but though the loss on both sides were so nearly equal, a foolish report of a splendid victory was sent to Rome with a despatch from the master of the horse that was yet more foolish.

*Violent feeling
against Fabius
at Rome.*

25. These matters were often debated both in the Senate and in the Assembly of the People. When, amidst the universal joy, the dictator alone would believe neither report nor despatch, and declared that, allowing all to be true, he was more afraid of successes than reverses, then Marcus Metilius, tribune of the people, spoke out. "This," he said, "really cannot be endured, that the dictator should not only have set himself, when he was with the army, against any attempt at success, but should also, when he is not with it, set himself against a success actually achieved; that, in his tedious campaigning, he should purposely waste time to keep himself longer in office and to enjoy a monopoly of power both at Rome and in the field. One consul has fallen in battle, the other has been banished far away from Italy under the pretence that he is to pursue the Carthaginian fleet. The two prætors are employed in Sicily and Sardinia, though there is now no need for a prætor in either province. Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, is almost kept in prison that he may not even see the enemy or do any of a soldier's business. Good heavens! it is not only Samnium, which indeed we have given up to Carthage just as much as if it were Spain beyond the Ebro, but Campania and the country round Cales and Falerii that have been ravaged while the dictator sits still at Casilinum and employs the legion of the Roman people in protecting his own estate. An arm eager to fight and a master of the horse have been almost shut up within their entrenchments, their arms have been

“taken from them, just as if they had been prisoners from the enemy. At length, when the dictator left them, they marched out of their lines, like men released from a siege, and routed and put to flight the enemy. For these reasons, were the old spirit still present to the Commons of Rome, I should have boldly proposed that Quintus Fabius be deposed. As it is, I shall offer a strictly moderate resolution, equalising the power of the dictator and the master of the horse. Even if this is carried, Fabius must not join the army till he has appointed a consul in the room of Caius Flaminius.”

A proposal to give Minucius equal power with Fabius.

The dictator abstained from all public speeches on behalf of a most unpopular policy. Even in the Senate he was heard with disfavour when he extolled Hannibal, and maintained that the disasters of the last two years had been incurred through the rashness and inexperience of our generals, and that the master of the horse would have to answer to him for having fought in disobedience to his commands. “If,” he said, “I am supreme in command and counsel, I will soon make men know that, with a good general, fortune is of little account, that good sense and sound judgment carry the day, and that it is far more glorious to have kept an army safe at a critical moment and without disgrace than to have slain many thousands of the enemy.” But he urged these arguments to no purpose; and so, after appointing Marcus Atilius Regulus consul, as he did not wish to stay himself and wrangle about claims to power, he left for the army by night.

There was an assembly of the Commons at dawn. Silent ill-feeling towards the dictator, and a liking for the master of the horse were strong in the public mind, but men hardly dared to come forward and advocate what was really popular. Thus the motion, though it found abundant favour, still wanted supporters. One man alone was found to argue for the bill, Caius Terentius Varro, prætor of the year before, a man of birth not only humble but positively mean. It was said that his father had been a butcher, who sold his own goods by retail, and who had employed this very son in the menial employments of his trade.

Supported by Terentius Varro.

26. Growing to manhood, he found in the money left by his father the hope of rising from these sordid gains to a nobler position; the advocate's gown suited his taste; noisy

BOOK XXII. declamations for ignoble clients and causes brought him first to notoriety and afterwards to public office. Becoming quæstor, plebeian and curule ædile, and at last prætor, he was now even raising his aspirations to the consulship. With no small cunning he sought to win the people's favour out of the dislike felt for the dictator, and secured for himself all the popularity of the resolution.

Carried by his influence.

All men, whether at Rome or in the army, whether friends or foes, took the bill as an intentional insult to the dictator. Not so the dictator himself. In the same dignified spirit in which he had borne the charges made against him before the populace, he now bore the wrong which the Commons inflicted in their rage. The despatch from the Senate announcing the equalisation of military authority reached him on his way. Confident that the commander's skill could not be equalized along with the right to command, he returned to the army with a soul that neither his fellow-citizens nor the enemy could subdue.

27. As for Minucius, success and popularity had already made him scarcely endurable, and now he began to boast without restraint or modesty that he had vanquished Fabius quite as much as he had vanquished Hannibal. "This marvellous general discovered in our trouble to be a match for Hannibal, this supreme commander, this dictator has been put on a level with me, his inferior, his master of the horse made such by the will of the people, though there is no precedent for it in our history, and though in Rome the master of the horse has been wont to tremble and quake at the axes and rods of the dictator. So brilliantly conspicuous have been my good fortune and valour. It is for me therefore to follow out my destiny, if the dictator persists in a delay and an inaction on which gods and men alike have pronounced sentence."

The command divided between Minucius and Fabius.

Accordingly on the first day that he met Quintus Fabius, he declared that the first thing to be settled was how they were to exercise the divided command. His own opinion was that the supreme authority and command should rest with them or alternate days, or for some settled time, if a longer period seemed preferable. They would thus be a match for the enemy not only in strategy, but also in actual force, should any opportunity for

action present itself. This plan in nowise approved itself to Fabius. Everything, he saw, would thus be at the mercy of any mischance that might befall his colleague's rashness. His command had been shared, not taken from him; he would never willingly relinquish the duty of prudently directing matters, as far as might be; he would share the troops with him rather than periods or days of command, and would save by his counsels what he could, since he might not save all. He had his way, and the legions were divided between the two, as was the regular practice with the consuls. The first and fourth fell to Minucius, the second and third to Fabius. They also made an equal division of the cavalry, of the allies, and of the Latin auxiliaries. The master of the horse also chose to have a separate camp.

28. Hannibal was now doubly delighted, and not a single movement of his foe escaped him. The deserters told him much, and he learnt much from his own spies. He would entrap in his own fashion the frank rashness of Minucius, while the experienced Fabius had lost half of his strength. There was some rising ground between the camp of Minucius and that of the Carthaginians, and it was clear that whoever should occupy it, would thereby make the enemy's position less favourable. It was not so much Hannibal's desire to gain this without fighting, though that would have been worth the attempt, as to find in it the occasion of a battle with Minucius, who would, he was quite sure, sally forth to oppose him. All the ground between them seemed at first sight useless for purposes of ambush. Not only had it no vestige of wood about it, but it was without even a covering of brambles. In reality, nature made it to conceal an ambush, all the more because no hidden danger could be feared in so bare a valley. In its windings were caverns, some of them large enough to hold two hundred armed men. Into these hiding places, wherever there was one which could be conveniently occupied, he introduced five thousand infantry and cavalry. Still in so exposed a valley the stratagem might be discovered by the incautious movement of a single soldier, or by the gleam of arms, and he therefore sent a few troops at early dawn to occupy the hill mentioned before, and so to distract the attention of the enemy. To see

BOOK XXII.

*Minucius falls
into a trap laid
by Hannibal.*

BOOK XXII. them was to conceive at once a contempt for their scanty numbers. Every man begged for the task of dislodging the enemy and occupying the place. Conspicuous among these senseless braggarts was the general himself, as he called his men to arms and assailed the enemy with idle threats. First he sent his light troops, then his cavalry in close array ; at last seeing that the enemy were receiving reinforcements, he advanced with his legions in order of battle.

Hannibal, too, as the conflict waxed fiercer and his troops were hard pressed, sent again and again infantry and cavalry to their support, till his line of battle was complete, and both sides were fighting with their whole strength. First of all the Roman light-armed troops, attacking, as they did, from below an elevation already occupied, were repulsed and thrust back, carrying panic with them into the cavalry behind and flying till they reached the standards of the legions. It was the infantry that alone stood firm amidst the rout and seemed likely, if once they had had to fight a regular battle in face of the enemy to be quite a match for him. The successful action of a few days before had given them abundance of courage ; but the ambushed troops unexpectedly rose upon them, charged them on the flank and in the rear, and spread such confusion and panic that they lost all heart for fighting and all hope of escape.

29. Fabius first heard the cry of terror ; then saw from afar the broken lines. "It is true," he cried, "disaster has overtaken rashness, but not sooner than I feared. They made him equal to Fabius, but he sees that Hannibal is his superior both in courage and in good fortune. Another time, however, will do for angry reproof and censure ; now advance the standard beyond the rampart. Let us wring from the enemy his victory, from our countrymen the confession of error."

*Fabius hurries
to the rescue and
saves him.*

Many had already fallen and many were looking for the chance to fly, when the army of Fabius, as suddenly as if it had dropped from heaven, appeared to help them. Before javelins were thrown or swords crossed, it checked the Romans in their headlong flight, the enemy in the fierce eagerness of their attack. Where the ranks had been broken and the men scattered hither and thither, they hurried from all sides to the unbroken line. Larger bodies had retreated together, these now wheeled round

to face the enemy and formed square, sometimes slowly retiring, sometimes standing in firm and close array. By the time that the beaten army and the unbroken army had all but combined into a single force and were advancing against the enemy, Hannibal gave the signal for retreat, thus openly confessing defeat, as he had conquered Minucius, so he had himself been overthrown by Fabius.

Returning to the camp late on this day of checkered fortune, Minucius assembled his troops. "Soldiers," he said, "I have often heard that the best man is he who can tell us himself what is the right thing; that next comes he who listens to good advice; and that he who cannot advise himself or submit to another, has the meanest capacity of all. Since the best blessing of heart and understanding has been denied us, let us hold fast that next best gift which is between the two, and while we learn to rule, make up our minds to obey the wise. Let us join our camp to the camp of Fabius. When we have carried our standards to his head-quarters, and I have given him the title of parent, so well deserved by the service which he has done us, and by his high position, you, my soldiers, will salute as the authors of your freedom the men whose right hands and swords lately saved you. So this day will give us, if nothing else, yet at least the credit of having grateful hearts."

*Minucius
publicly acknow-
ledges his error.*

30. The signal was given, and proclamation made to collect the camp equipage. Then they started and marched in regular array to the dictator's camp, much to his wonder and that of those who stood round him. When the standards were set up before the hustings, the master of the horse stepped forward and called Fabius by the name of "father," while the whole array saluted as "authors of their freedom" the soldiers as they stood grouped around their commander. "Dictator," he said, "I have put thee on a level with my parents by this name, and it is all that speech can do; but while I owe to them life only, to thee I owe the safety of myself and of all these. Therefore I am the first to reject and repeal that decree which has been given to me a burden rather than an honour, and praying that this act may be prospered to thee and me and to these thy allies, the preserver and the preserved alike, I put myself again under thy command and fortunes, and restore to thee

*He joins
Fabius.*

BOOK XXII. "these standards and legions. Forgive us, I pray, and allow me to keep my mastership of the horse, and each of these his several rank."

There was a general clasp of hands; and when the assembly was dismissed, the soldiers were kindly and hospitably invited by strangers as well as friends. Thus a day which but a few hours before had been full of sorrow and almost unspeakable disaster became a day of merriment. In Rome as soon as the news of this incident arrived, followed and confirmed by letters, not only from the generals but from many persons in either army, every one joined in extolling Maximus to the skies. Hannibal and the Carthaginians equally admire him. They felt at last that it was with Romans and in Italy that they were fighting. For the last two years they had despised both the generals and the soldiers of Rome that they could scarcely believe themselves to be fighting with that same people of whom they had heard so terrible a report from their fathers. Hannibal, too, they say, exclaimed, as he was returning from the field, "At last the cloud which has been dwelling so long upon the hills, has burst upon us in storm and rain."

*Defeat of the
consul Servilius
off the coast of
Africa.*

31. While these events were occurring in Italy, the consul Cneius Servilius Geminus, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships sailed round the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica received hostages from both islands, and then crossed over to Africa. Before landing on the mainland he ravaged the island of Menige,* and received ten talents of silver from the inhabitants of Cercina,† as a consideration for not devastating their territory also. He then passed over to the African coast and landed his forces. The soldiers and seamen were now taken to ravage the country, and dispersed themselves just as if they were plundering an uninhabited island. This recklessness drew them into ambuscades; they were straggling, and the enemy was compact; they knew nothing of the country, and the enemy knew it well: finally they were driven back to their ships with heavy loss and great disgrace. As many as a thousand men and among them the quæstor Sempronius Blaesus, perished. The fleet then hurriedly leaving a coast crowded with foes sailed to Sicily, and was handed over at Lilybæum‡ to the prætor Titos Otacilius, whose second in command, Publius Sura, was

* Jerbah.

† Karkineh.

‡ Marsala.

to take it back to Rome. The consul himself went overland through Sicily, and crossed the strait to Italy. A despatch from Fabius had summoned him and his colleague, Marcus Atilius, that they might take his army off his hands, as his six months' command was now nearly at an end.

BOOK XXII.

He returns to take the command of Fabius's army.

Almost all the annalists relate that Fabius was dictator when he conducted his campaign against Hannibal. Cœlius adds that he was the first dictator created by the people. But it has escaped Cœlius and the other writers that the surviving consul, Minucius Servilius, who was then far away in the province of Gaul, alone had the right of naming a dictator; that the country, error-stricken by disaster, would not endure the delay, and had recourse to the plan of creating by popular election a pro-dictator; and that his achievements, the great distinction that he won as a general, and an exaggerated account of his honours in after generations, easily led to the belief that he had been dictator, when really he had been but pro-dictator.

Question whether Fabius could have been properly appointed dictator.

32. Atilius took command of the army of Fabius, and Minucius Servilius of that of Minucius. They fortified their winter-camp in good time, and were thoroughly agreed in employing the tactics of Fabius for what was left of the autumn campaign. Whenever Hannibal sallied out to collect supplies, they were ready to meet him at this place and at that; they harassed his march, they cut off stragglers; but the hazard of a general engagement, which the enemy sought in every possible way to bring on, they declined. Hannibal was reduced to such extreme want, that he would have gone back to Gaul, but that his retreat would have looked like a flight, and he had no hope of supporting his army in this country, were the next consuls to follow the same tactics.

The new commanders follow the tactics of Fabius.

When winter had brought the war to a standstill at Drepanum, envoys from Naples came to Rome. They brought to the Senate House forty very heavy bowls of gold, and spoke to the following effect: "We know that the treasury of the Roman people is being exhausted by the war. Seeing then that you are fighting just as much for the cities and lands of the allies as for the capital and citadel of Italy, Rome, and your own empire, the men of Naples hold it right to give to the help of the Roman people the gold which has been left

Naples sends gifts, and promises help to Rome.

BOOK XXII. "them by their ancestors alike for the adornment of their temples, or for a reserve in case of need. Had we thought that our own services were of any worth, we should have offered them with the same readiness. The Senate and people of Rome will best please us by looking on all their possessions of the men of Naples as their own, and by deigning to receive from them a gift to which the goodwill of those who freely offer it rather than its actual magnitude, gives greatness and dignity." The envoys were thanked for their munificence and zeal, and the lightest of the bowls was accepted.

33. About this time a Carthaginian spy who had eluded capture for two years was caught in Rome and dismissed with his hands lopped off. Twenty-five slaves were crucified for having conspired in the Campus Martius, the informer being rewarded with his liberty and twenty thousand sesterces.* An embassy was sent to Philip, king of Macedon, to demand the extradition of Demetrius of Pharos, who had taken refuge with him after his defeat; another to the Ligures to expostulate with them for helping the Carthaginians with money and men, and also to observe from the immediate neighbourhood what was going on among the Boii and the Insubres. Envoys also were sent to king Pineus in Illyria to demand the tribute, the time for which had expired, or, if he wished payment to be postponed, to receive hostages. Crushing as was the pressure of the war upon our shoulders, yet nothing in any country, however remote, escaped the diligent care of Rome. Religious scruple also arose because the Temple of Concord which the prætor Lucius Manlius, had vowed two years before in Gaul on the occasion of a mutiny, had not been contracted for up to that time. Two commissioners, Caius Pupius and Cæso Quinctius Flaminius, were appointed for the purpose by Marcus Æmilius prætor of the city, and contracted for the building of the temple in the citadel.

This same prætor also in obedience to a resolution of the Senate sent letters to the consuls to the effect that if they thought one of them should come to Rome to appoint new consuls, or that any day they might wish should be fixed for the election. The consuls replied that they could not without damage to the public interests leave the neighbourhood of the enemy, and th

* About £170.

*The Romans
send embassies
to Macedon and
other countries.*

herefore the elections should be held by an interrex in preference to calling away either of the consuls from the seat of war. It seemed to the Senate more in order that a dictator should be named by the consul for the purpose of holding the election. Lucius Veturius Philo was so named, and appointed Manius Pomponius Matho his master of the horse. There was some legal flaw in these appointments, and they were ordered fourteen days afterwards to abdicate their offices, and an interregnum was the result.

A dictator appointed to hold the consular elections.

34. The consuls had their command prolonged for a year. The Senate named as interrex first Caius Claudius Cento, son of Appius of that name, and after him, Publius Cornelius Asina. During the latter's term of office the elections were held, and fiercely contested between patricians and plebeians. The lower orders were striving to elevate to the consulship Caius Terentius Varro, a man of their own class, who had ingratiated himself with them by his invectives against the nobles and the arts which win popularity, and who, since the shock which he had given to the position and power of the dictator Fabius, had found in another man's unpopularity a certain distinction for himself. The patricians opposed him with all their might, fearing lest men should find in such attacks a common road to equality. Quintus Baebius Herennius, tribune of the commons, kinsman of Varro, inveighed not only against the Senate, but also against the augurs, because they had forbidden the dictator to complete the elections, seeking at their expense that which might win favour for his own candidate. "It is the nobles," he cried, "eager for war as they have long been, who brought Hannibal into Italy; it is they who, when the struggle might be ended, wickedly prolong the war. When it had been proved by the success of Minucius during the absence of Fabius that four legions combined could fight with advantage, two legions were sent for the enemy to slaughter, and then, rescued from slaughter, to gain the titles of father and protector for the man who kept the Romans from victory before he kept them from defeat. After this the consuls followed the tactics of Fabius and protracted the war which they might have finished. This is the compact which all the nobles have made among themselves; we shall not see the

Sharp strife between the nobles and the commons.

B.C. 216.

BOOK XXII.

"end of the war till we raise to the consulship a real plebeian
 "that is, a man from the ranks ; for our plebeian nobility have
 "now been initiated into the patrician religious ritual, and have
 "learnt to despise the commons ever since they ceased to be
 "despised by the patricians. Who does not see that their aim
 "and object has been to bring about an interregnum, that the
 "elections may be controlled by the patricians? This was what
 "the consuls had in view in lingering with the army ; this was
 "the reason why, when they had reluctantly named a dictator
 "to conduct the elections, they had fought hard to get the
 "dictator's appointment pronounced irregular by the augurs.
 "They have their interregnum then ; but one consulship cer-
 "tainly belongs to the commons of Rome ; the people would
 "use it freely and give it to the man who would prefer to win
 "an early victory than to hold a long command."

35. With such oratory the commons were wrought to fury.
 Three patricians were candidates, Publius Cornelius Merenda,
 Lucius Manlius Vulso, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and two men of
 ennobled plebeian families, Caius Atilius Serranus, and Quintus
 Ælius Pætus, one of whom was pontiff and the other augur, but
 the single consul elected was Caius Terentius, who had there-
 fore to preside over the election of a colleague. By this time
 the nobles had found that their candidates were not strong
 enough. They induced Lucius Æmilius Paulus, after a long
 and earnest resistance, to stand. He had been consul with
 Marcus Livius, and had escaped half ruined from the cor-
 ruption which had overtaken his colleague and himself, and
 he was no friend to the commons. On the next election day,
 all Varro's opponents retiring, Æmilius was appointed rather
 as a rival to thwart him than as a colleague. The election of
 prætors was next held ; Manius Pomponius Matho and Publius
 Furius Philus were appointed. To Philus was allotted the juris-
 diction of prætor of the city ; to Pomponius the jurisdiction
 over causes between citizens and aliens. Two more prætors
 were appointed, Marcus Claudius Marcellus for Sicily, and
 Lucius Postumius Albinus for Gaul. All these magistrates were
 appointed in their absence. Not one, except the consul
 Terentius, had any office committed to him which he had not
 held before, and not a few gallant and energetic men were pass-

*Terentius Varro
 and Æmilius
 Paulus elected
 consuls.*

ver, because at such a crisis it was thought that no one should
e trusted with an office to which he was new. BOOK XXII.

36. The armies also were increased. But as to what additional forces of infantry and cavalry were raised, my authorities vary so much, both as to the number and the class of troops, that I have not ventured to speak with any certainty. Some say that ten thousand fresh troops were levied by way of reinforcement; others that four new legions were enrolled, so that there should be an available force of eight legions; they say also that the number of the infantry and the cavalry in each legion was augmented, a thousand foot and a hundred horse being added to each, so that a legion now had five thousand foot and three hundred horse, the allies supplying double the number of cavalry and the same number of infantry. It is affirmed by some writers that there were eighty-seven thousand two hundred armed men in the Roman camp when Cannæ was fought. All indeed agree that things were done with more vigour and energy than in former years, because the dictator had given them the hope that the enemy might be conquered.

*Larger armies
raised.*

But before the new legions marched from Rome, the College of the Ten were directed to consult and examine the Sacred Books on account of the general terror which certain new portents had caused. It was declared that both at Rome, on Mount Aventine, and at Aricia,* and at the same hour, there had fallen a shower of stones; that statues in the Sabine country had ripped plentifully with blood, and that cold water had flowed from a hot spring. And indeed the frequent repetition of this portent was peculiarly alarming. In the vaulted street which used to lead to the Campus several men were struck and killed by lightning. These portents were expiated as the Books directed. Envoys from Paestum brought bowls of gold to Rome. They received a vote of thanks, as had the people of Caples, but the gold was not accepted.

*The Sibylline
books again
consulted.*

* La Riccia.

37. About the same time there arrived at Ostia a fleet from King Hiero with a great supply of provisions. The envoys were introduced into the Senate and spoke to this effect: "The news of the destruction of the consul Caius Flaminius and his army was so grievous to King Hiero that he could not have been more troubled by any disaster to himself and his realm. And

*King Hiero
sends aid to
the Romans.*

BOOK XXII.

“so, though he is well aware that the greatness of the Roman people is almost more worthy of admiration in disaster than in success, yet he has sent everything with which good and loyal allies are wont to supply the needs of war, and he earnestly entreats the Senate not to refuse to accept them. First of all for good fortune’s sake, we bring a golden statue of Victory, weighing two hundred and twenty pounds. Accept it, and keep it, and reckon it as your own for ever. We have also brought three hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley, lest supplies should fail you, and we will bring in all that you want besides to any point you may command. The king knows that the Roman people use no infantry or cavalry that is not Roman, or of the Latin nation, yet he has seen in the camps of Rome light-armed troops even of foreign race. He has sent, therefore, a thousand archers and slingers, a force well fitted to cope with the islanders and Moors and other tribes who fight with missiles.” The envoys added the suggestion that the prætor commanding in Sicily should cross over with a fleet to Africa. The enemy, with war in their own borders, would be less free to send reinforcements to Hannibal.

The Senate replied that Hiero was an honest man and an admirable ally, who had been consistently loyal from the day that he became the friend of the Roman people, and had munificently helped the commonwealth of Rome at all times and in all places. This loyalty was as dear to the Roman people as it deserved to be. They had not accepted the gold that had been offered by certain nations, though they accepted the kindness of the act. But they did accept, for good fortune’s sake, the statue of Victory, and gave and consecrated to the goddess a seat in the Capitol, the temple of Almighty and most merciful Jupiter. “Solemnly established of her own goodwill and pleasure in that citadel of Rome, she will ever be firm and steadfast to the Roman people.” The slingers, the archers, and the corn were handed over to the consuls. Twenty-five ships of five banks of oars were added to the fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, which Titus Otacilius, the pro-prætor, had in Sicily and leave was given him to cross over to Africa, if he thought it for the public advantage.

38. The consuls, after completing their levy, delayed their departure a few days till the soldiers from the allies and the Latin nation should come in. Then—a thing never done before—the troops had the oath of allegiance administered to them by the tribunes of the soldiers. Up to that time there had been nothing but the obligation to assemble at the bidding of the consuls and not to depart without their leave, and the custom, when they were formed into their companies of a hundred and their troops of ten, that the infantry soldiers of each company and the horsemen of each troop swore to each other “that they would not leave their fellows for fear’s sake or flight, nor quit their ranks except to take up or seek a weapon, to strike a foe, or to save a friend.” From a voluntary agreement among themselves this was now changed into an oath regularly administered by the tribunes.

BOOK XXII.

Raising of the levies.

Before the army left Rome, the consul Varro delivered several fierce harangues, in which he declared that on the very day on which he saw the enemy he would finish this war, which, brought as it had been into Italy by the nobles, would cling to the vitals of the commonwealth, if it had more generals such as Fabius. His colleague Paulus spoke once, and that on the day before he left the city, with words that were more true than welcome. He said nothing harsh against Varro, except this only, that he wondered how a general without knowing anything of his own or the enemy’s army, of the nature of the ground, or the geography of the country, could be sure, while he was still a civilian in the city, what he would have to do when he was a soldier, and could even predict the day on which he would give battle to his foe. As for himself, seeing that circumstances determine plans, rather than plans circumstances, he would indulge in no premature anticipations, and would hope that action cautiously and deliberately conducted would end in success. Rashness, besides its folly, was in this conjuncture peculiarly unfortunate. Evident as it was that Paulus would voluntarily prefer counsels of safety to counsels of haste, Quintus Fabius Maximus, wishing to strengthen him in this resolve, thus addressed him, it is said, on the eve of his departure :

*Varro’s boasts before leaving Rome.**Feeling of Paulus.*

39. “Had you a colleague like yourself, Lucius Æmilius—and I would that it were so !—or were you like your colleague,

Warning words of Fabius.

BOOK XXII. "my words would be superfluous. Were both of you good men, "you would do all that the common weal and your own honour "demanded; were both of you bad men, you would neither "listen to my words nor lay my counsels to heart. As it is, when "I see what your colleague is, and what you are, I speak, and "speak only to you, whose valour and patriotism must, I see, be "all in vain if one half of the commonwealth be helpless and "evil counsels have the same weight and authority as good. You "are mistaken, Paulus, if you think that you will not have to contend quite as much with Terentius as with Hannibal. I do not "know whether you will not find this opponent more dangerous "to you than that open enemy. With the one you will contend "in the battle-field only; with the other in every place, at every "time. Against Hannibal and his legions, you will fight with your "infantry and your cavalry; Varro, when in command, will assail "you with your own troops. Heaven forbid that I should trouble "you with the sinister recollection of Flaminius. Yet, when he "was consul, it was only in his command and in the army that "he began to show his insanity; this man, before he stood for "the consulship, while he was standing for it, and now that he is "consul, before he has seen the camp or the enemy, has played "and is playing the madman. If he could raise such storms "among our civilians by bragging of battle and battle-fields, what "think you, will he do with armed men—young men, remember—"in circumstances where action follows immediately on speech. "Yet if he shall give battle forthwith, as he declares he will do "then either I know nothing of soldiership, of this kind of war, and "of this enemy, or some other place will be made yet more famous "than Trasumennus by our disasters. This is no time for boasting "when you only are here, and I, if I err, would rather err in despising than in seeking fame; but this is the simple truth. "There is but one method of fighting with Hannibal, and that "is the method which I followed. It is not only results that "show us this (fools are taught by results), but a reasoning "which has remained and must remain unchanged as long as "circumstances shall continue the same. It is in Italy we are "fighting, in our own home, on our native soil; countrymen and "allies are everywhere about us; they help and will help us with "arms, men, horses, provisions (this proof of their loyalty th

"have already given us in our adversity), while time makes us continually better, wiser, more steadfast. Hannibal, on the other hand, is in a strange, a hostile country, where all is adverse and unfriendly, far from his home and native land. Neither by land nor sea can he find peace; no cities, no fortified places receive him; he sees nothing anywhere to call his own; he lives from day to day on what he steals. Scarce a third of the army with which he crossed the Ebro is left to him. He has lost more by hunger than by the sword, and for the few that remain he has not food enough. Do you doubt, then, that by sitting still we shall conquer a man who grows feebler every day, who has neither provisions nor reinforcements nor money? How long has he been sitting before the walls of Gereonium, a poor fort in Apulia, as if they were the walls of Carthage? But even before you I will not boast of myself. See how the last consuls, Cneius Servilius and Atilius played with him. This is the one path of safety, Paulus, and thus it is your own countrymen, rather than the enemy, who will make it difficult and dangerous for you. True, our own soldiers will have the same wish as the enemy, and Varro, Roman consul as he is, will desire exactly what Hannibal the Carthaginian general desires. Singly you must resist the two commanders. And you will resist, if you stand really firm against both popular opinion and idle rumour, if neither the foolish vainglorying of your colleague nor your own undeserved disgrace shall move you. Truth, they say, is too often eclipsed, but never extinguished. He who spurns false glory, shall possess the true. Let them call you coward when you are cautious, dilatory when you are deliberate, no soldier when you show true soldiership. I had rather that a skilful enemy should fear than that a foolish friend should praise you. The man who dares all risks, Hannibal will despise; the man who does nothing rashly, he will fear. I do not advise you to do nothing; I advise you, whatever you do, let reason, not fortune, guide you. Always keep yourself and your forces under your own control. Be always prepared, always on the watch. Never miss your own opportunity; never give an opportunity to the enemy. He who will not hurry, will find all things clear, all things certain. Haste is both improvident and blind."

BOOK XXII.

Reply of Paulus.

40. The consul's reply was by no means in a cheerful tone. He allowed that what Fabius said was true, but not that it was easy to put into practice. A dictator had found his master of the horse unmanageable. What power and influence would a consul have to resist a turbulent and headstrong colleague? "In my first consulship," said Paulus, "I escaped, half consumed, out of the fire of popular fury; I wish that all things may turn out well. If any disaster befall us, I shall sooner trust my life to the weapons of the enemy than to the votes of my enraged fellow-citizens."

It was, they say, with these words on his lips that Paulus set out. He was attended by the leading patricians, the plebeian consul, by his own plebeian adherents, more conspicuously honoured by numbers than by worth. When they reached the camp, the old army was combined with the new; two camps were formed, the newer and weaker being nearer to Hannibal, while the first retained the greater part of the army and all the best troops. Marcus Atilius, consul of the last year, pleaded his age, and was sent back to Rome; Geminus Servilius was set to command in the smaller camp a Roman legion and two thousand cavalry and infantry of the allies. Hannibal, though perceiving that the hostile forces were half as large again as before, was yet marvellously delighted at the arrival of the consuls. Not only was there nothing left out of the plunder that every day brought in, but there was not even a place remaining to be plundered; all the corn had been carried into fortified towns as soon as the country grew unsafe, so that, as was afterwards discovered, scarce ten days' supply of corn remained, and the Spaniards had arranged to desert from sheer hunger, if only the Romans could have waited for their full opportunity.

41. Chance gave encouragement to the rash and impetuous temper of the consul in a confused skirmish that began in an attempt to drive off some plunderers, followed by a hasty rush of the soldiers without preparation or orders from their commanders, and the fortune of the day went against the Carthaginians. As many as seventeen hundred fell; of the Romans and allies not more than a hundred were killed. The consul Paulus, who was in command that day (the two consuls commanded alternately), checked the wild pursuit of the conquerors, amidst

Hannibal wishes to bring on a general engagement.

The Romans are victorious in a slight skirmish.

wrathful protestations from Varro, that they were letting the enemy slip out of their hands, and that he might have been thoroughly beaten had they not paused. Hannibal was not much distressed at this loss. He rather believed that it would be, so to speak, a bait to the rashness of the headstrong consul and of the new soldiers especially. He knew quite as much about his foe as he did about his own troops; he knew that two men wholly unlike and without unity of purpose were in command, and that nearly two-thirds of the army were recruits. It seemed to him that both time and place favoured a stratagem. Making his soldiers carry with them nothing but their arms, he quitted his camp, leaving it full of property both public and private. He drew up his infantry in concealment behind the hills on his left, and his cavalry on the right; and made the baggage pass up the valley between, hoping to surprise the Romans while their thoughts and hands were busied with the plunder of a camp which seemed to have been deserted by the sudden flight of its occupants. Many fires were left in the camp, intended to create the impression that he had wished to keep the consuls where they were, till he had got a long start in his retreat, just as he had deceived Fabius the year before.

Hannibal lays a trap for them.

42. When day broke, the Romans saw with astonishment, first, that the pickets were withdrawn, and then when they approached the camp, that there was an unusual stillness. As soon as they were quite certain that it was deserted, there was a rush to the headquarters of the consul, and a cry that the enemy had fled in such haste that they had abandoned their camp with the tents standing, and that to conceal their retreat, many fires had been left burning. A loud shout was set up that the consuls should at once order an advance and lead them to pursue the enemy, and forthwith plunder the camp. One of the consuls was nothing better than one of the mob of soldiers. Paulus said again and again that they must be prudent and cautious. At last, seeing no other way of holding his own against the mutineers and their leader, he sent Marius Statilius with a Lucanian troop of horse under his command to reconnoitre.

Caution of Paulus.

Riding up to the gates and bidding the rest remain outside the lines, Marius and two others entered the entrenchments, and after carefully surveying every point, brought back word that there was

BOOK XXII. certainly some hidden danger ; that the fires that had been left were on the side of the camp nearest to the Romans, the tents were open and everything of value was left perfectly accessible ; that he had even seen silver strewn at random in some places along the paths, as if to invite plunder. What was intended to restrain the soldiers from their greed of gain, only inflamed them. A shout arose that if the signal was not given they would go without their generals ; but there was a general forthcoming, for Varro immediately gave the signal to start. Paulus, whose own wish was for delay, heard that the auguries of the sacred chicken did not sanction an advance, and bade the fact be communicated to Varro just as he was marching out of the camp-gates. Varro was greatly vexed, but the recent disaster of Flaminius and the famous defeat of the consul Claudius in the first Punic war, had impressed religious fears upon his mind. I may almost say that Heaven itself that day postponed rather than averted the doom that was hanging over the Romans. It so happened that while the consul was bidding the soldiers retire into the camp and they were refusing to obey him, two slave attendants, one belonging to a trooper from Formiæ * and the other to a trooper from Sidicinum, who had been captured among the foragers by the Numidians when Servilius and Atilius were consuls, that day escaped to their old masters. They were brought to the consuls and told them that the whole army of Hannibal lay in ambush behind the hills. Their opportune arrival restored the authority of the consuls, though one consul, bent as he was on popularity, had by an unprincipled indulgence impaired the dignity of his office.

*Hannibal
forced, by want
of supplies, to
fall back on
Cannæ, in
Apulia.*

43. Hannibal saw that the Romans had indeed moved rashly, but were not yet venturing the last desperate risk, and he returned, now that his stratagem was discovered, disappointed to his camp. He could not remain there many days as provisions were running short. Every day new plans suggested themselves, not only among his troops, a miscellaneous crowd the refuse of the world, but to the general himself. Murmur that soon grew into loud clamours had been heard, demands for overdue pay, and complaints first of scanty rations and the of absolute famine ; rumours had spread that the mercenarier the Spaniards especially, had talked of changing sides, an

Hannibal himself was said to have sometimes had thoughts of retreating into Gaul, hurrying away with his cavalry, but leaving all his infantry behind. Such being the plans discussed and such the temper prevailing in the camp, he resolved to move into Apulia, a warmer country, where the harvest would be earlier; the greater too his distance from the enemy, the more difficult would desertion be for the weaker spirits in his army. He started during the night, leaving, as he had done before, a few fires and tents to deceive the enemy. Fear of some such stratagem as before would, he hoped, keep them where they were. But when after a thorough exploration of all the country beyond the camp, and on the other side of the hills, by Statilius, the Lucanian officer mentioned already, it was reported that the hostile army had been seen in the distance, the question of pursuit was at once debated. The two consuls adhered to their former opinions, but as nearly all voted with Varro, and no one, except the ex-consul Servilius, with Paulus, the judgment of the majority prevailed, and the army moved out, to make Cannæ, for so destiny would have it, famous for ever for a great Roman defeat. Hannibal had pitched his camp near that village, so as not to face the wind called Vulturnus, which, blowing across plains parched with drought, carries with it clouds of dust. The arrangement was most convenient for the camp, and was afterwards found to be of similar advantage when they marshalled their troops for battle. Their own faces were turned away and the wind did but blow on their backs, while the enemy with whom they were to fight was blinded by columns of dust.

The Romans follow him up.

44. The consuls, after duly reconnoitring the roads, followed the Carthaginians till they reached Cannæ, where they had the enemy in sight. They then entrenched and fortified two camps, separating their forces by about the same distance as before at Gereonium. The river Aufidus,* which flowed near both camps, furnished water to both armies, the soldiers approaching as they most conveniently could, not, however, without some skirmishing. From the smaller camp, which had been pitched on the further side of the Aufidus, the Romans procured water with less difficulty, as the opposite bank was not held by any hostile force. Hannibal saw his hope

Both armies encamp near Cannæ.

* Ofanto.

BOOK XXII. accomplished, that the consuls would offer battle on ground made for the action of cavalry, in which arm he was invincible. He drew up his men, and sought to provoke his foe by throwing forward his Numidian troopers. Then the Roman camp was once more disturbed by mutiny among the troops and disagreement between the consuls. Paulus taunted Varro with the rashness of Sempronius and Flaminius; Varro reproached Paulus with copying Fabius, an example attractive to timid and indolent commanders, and called both gods and men to witness that it was no fault of his if Hannibal had now a prescriptive possession of Italy. "I," said he, "have my hands tied and held fast by my colleague. My soldiers, furious and eager to fight, are stripped of their swords and arms." Paulus declared that if any disaster befell the legions recklessly thrown and betrayed into battle without deliberation or forethought, he would share all their fortunes, while holding himself free from all blame. "Let Varro look to it that they whose tongues were so ready and so bold, had hands equally vigorous in the day of battle."

*Difference of
opinion between
the consuls.*

*Skirmishing
between the two
armies.*

45. While they thus wasted the time in disputing rather than in deliberating, Hannibal, who had kept his lines drawn up till late in the day, called back the rest of his troops into his camp, but sent forward the Numidian cavalry across the river to attack the water-parties from the smaller of the two Roman camps. Coming on with shouting and uproar they sent the undisciplined crowd flying before they had even reached the bank, and rode on till they came on an outpost stationed before the rampart and close to the very camp-gates. So scandalous did it seem that a Roman camp should be alarmed by some irregular auxiliaries that the only circumstance which hindered the Romans from immediately crossing the river and forming their line of battle was, that the supreme command that day rested with Paulus. But the next day Varro, without consulting his colleague, gave the signal to engage, and drawing up his forces led them across the river. Paulus followed him; he could withhold his sanction from the movement, but not his support. The river crossed, they joined to their own the forces retained by them in the smaller camp, and then formed their lines. On the right wing (the one nearer to

the river) they posted the Roman cavalry and next the infantry. On the extreme flank of the left wing were the allied cavalry, next the allied infantry, side by side with the Roman legions in the centre. Slingers and other light-armed auxiliaries made up the first line. Paulus commanded the left wing; Varro the right; Geminus Servilius had charge of the centre. BOOK XXII.

46. At dawn Hannibal, sending in advance his slingers and light-armed troops, crossed the river, assigning each division its position as it crossed. His Gallic and Spanish cavalry he posted near the river bank on the left wing, facing the Roman horse; the right wing was assigned to the Numidian cavalry; the centre showed a strong force of infantry, having on either side the African troops, with the Gauls and Spaniards between them. These Africans might have been taken for a Roman force; so largely were they equipped with weapons taken at Trebia, and yet more at Trasumennus. The Gauls and Spaniards had shields of very nearly the same shape, but their swords were widely different in size and form, the Gauls having them very long and pointless, while the Spaniards, who were accustomed to assail the enemy with thrusts rather than with blows, had them short, handy, and pointed. These nations had a specially terrible appearance, so gigantic was their stature, and so strange their look. The Gauls were naked above the navel; the Spaniards wore tunics of linen bordered with purple, of a whiteness marvellously dazzling. The total number of the infantry who were that day ranged in line, was forty thousand, that of the cavalry ten thousand. Hasdrubal commanded the left wing; Maharbal the right; Hannibal himself, with his brother Mago, was in the centre. The sun—whether the troops were purposely so placed, or whether it was by chance—fell very conveniently sideways on both armies, the Romans facing the south, the Carthaginians the north. The wind (called *Fulturnus* by the natives of those parts) blew straight against the Romans and whirled clouds of dust into their faces till they could see nothing.

*Hannibal
array.*

47. With a loud shout the auxiliaries charged, the light troops thus beginning the battle. Next the Gallic and Spanish horse of the left wing encountered the right wing of the Romans. The fight was not at all like a cavalry engagement; they had

The battle.

BOOK XXII. to meet face to face ; there was no room for manœuvring, shut in as they were by the river on one side and the lines of infantry on the other. Both sides pushed straight forward till, with their horses brought to a stand and crowded together in a mass, each man seized his antagonist and strove to drag him from his seat. The struggle now became mainly a struggle of infantry ; but the conflict was rather fierce than protracted. The Roman cavalry were defeated and put to flight. Just before the encounter of the cavalry came to an end, the fight between the infantry began. The two sides were well matched in strength and courage, as long as the Gauls and Spaniards kept their ranks unbroken ; at last the Romans, after long and repeated efforts, sloped their front and broke, by their deep formation, the enemy's column, which, advanced as it was from the rest of the line, was shallow and therefore weak. Pursuing the broken and rapidly retreating foe, they made their way without a halt through the rout of panic-stricken fugitives till they reached, first, the centre of the line, and then, meeting with no check, the reserves of the African troops. These had been stationed on the wings which had been somewhat retired, while the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards had been posted, was proportionately advanced. As that column fell back, the line became level ; when they pushed their retreat, they made a hollow in the centre. The Africans now overlapped on either side, and as the Romans rushed heedlessly into the intervening space, they first outflanked them and then, extending their own formation, actually hemmed in their rear. Upon this the Romans, who had fought one battle to no purpose, quitted the Gauls and Spaniards, whose rear they had been slaughtering, and began a new conflict with the Africans, a conflict unfair, not only because they were shut in with foes all round them, but because they were wearied while the enemy was fresh and vigorous.

48. On the left wing of the Romans the cavalry of the allies had been posted against the Numidians. Here too battle had been joined, though with little spirit for a time, the first movement being a Carthaginian stratagem. Nearly five hundred Numidians who, besides their usual armour and missiles had sword hidden under their cuirasses, rode out from their own line wit

their shields slung behind their backs as though they had been deserters, leapt in haste from their horses and threw their shields and javelins at the feet of the Romans. They were received into the centre of the line, taken to the extreme rear, and bidden to keep their place behind. While the battle spread from place to place, they remained motionless; but as soon as all eyes and thoughts were intent on the conflict, they seized the shields which lay scattered everywhere among the piles of dead, and fell on the Roman line from the rear. They wounded the backs and legs of the men, and, while they made a great slaughter, spread far greater panic and confusion. While there was terror and flight on the right, and in the centre an obstinate resistance, though with little hope, Hasdrubal, who was in command in this quarter, withdrew the Numidians from the centre, seeing that they fought with but little spirit, and having sent them in all directions to pursue the enemy, reinforced with the Spanish and Gallic cavalry the African troops, wearied as they now were with slaughter rather than with fighting.

49. Paulus was on the other side of the field. He had been seriously wounded at the very beginning of the battle by a bullet from a sling, but yet he repeatedly encountered Hannibal with a compact body of troops, and at several points restored the fortune of the day. He was protected by the Roman cavalry, who at last sent away their horses when the consul became too weak to manage his charger. Some one told Hannibal that the consul had ordered the cavalry to dismount. "He might better hand them over to me bound hand and foot," said he. The horsemen fought on foot as men were likely to fight, when, the victory of the enemy being beyond all doubt, he vanquished preferred dying where they stood to flight, and the victors, furious with those who delayed their triumph, slaughtered the foes whom they could not move. Move them, however, they did—that is a few survivors, exhausted with wounds and fatigue. All were then scattered, and such as were able sought to recover their horses and fly. Cn. Lentulus, as he was called by, saw the consul sitting on a stone and covered with blood. "Lucius Æmilius," he cried, "the one man whom heaven must regard as guiltless of this day's calamity, take this horse while you have some strength left, and I am here

*Defeat of the
Romans, with
the destruction
of the greater
part of their
army.*

BOOK XXII. "to be with you, to lift you to the saddle, and to defend you. "Do not make this defeat yet sadder by a consul's death. "There is weeping and sorrow enough without this." The consul replied, "'Tis a brave thought of thine, Cn. Cornelius ; "but waste not the few moments you have for escaping from the "enemy in fruitless pity. My public message to the senators "is that they must fortify Rome and make its garrison as strong "as may be before the victorious enemy arrives. My private "message to Quintus Fabius is that Lucius Æmilius remem- "bered his teaching in life and death. As for me, let me breathe "my last among my slaughtered soldiers. I would not again "leave my consulship to answer for my life, nor would I stand "up to accuse my colleague, and by accusing another protect my "own innocence."

While they thus talked together, they were overtaken, first by a crowd of Roman fugitives and then by the enemy. These last buried the consul under a shower of javelins, not knowing who he was. Lentulus galloped off in the confusion. The Romans now fled wildly in every direction. Seven thousand men escaped into the smaller, ten thousand into the larger camp, ten thousand more into the village of Cannæ itself. These last were immediately surrounded by Carthalo and the cavalry, for no fortification protected the place. The other consul, who, whether by chance or of set purpose, had not joined any large body of fugitives, fled with about five hundred horsemen to Venusia.* Forty-five thousand five hundred infantry, two thousand seven hundred cavalry, and almost as many more citizens and allies are said to have fallen. Among these were the quæstors of both consuls, Lucius Atilius and Furius Bibaculus, twenty-nine tribunes of the soldiers, not a few ex-consuls, ex-prætors, and ex-ædiles (among them Cn. Servilius and Marcus Minucius, who the year before had been the master of the horse, and consul some years before that), eighty who were either actual senators or had filled such offices as made them eligible for the Senate, and who had volunteered to serve in the legions. In this battle three thousand infantry and one thousand five hundred cavalry are said to have been taken prisoners.

50. Such was the battle of Cannæ, as famous as the disaster at the Allia, and though less serious in its consequences, thanks

* Venosa.

to the inaction of the enemy, yet in loss of men still more ruinous and disgraceful. The flight at the Allia lost the city but saved the army; at Cannæ the consul who fled was followed by barely fifty men; with the consul who perished, perished nearly the whole army.

The two camps held a defenceless crowd with no one to command them. The occupants of the larger camp sent a messenger to their neighbours, suggesting that they should come over to them, while night still kept the enemy wrapped in the profound sleep that would follow battle and the joyous banquets of conquerors; they might then unite in one body and retreat to Canusium.* Some wholly scorned the proposal. "Why," said they, "do not the men who send for us come themselves, being just as well able to effect the junction as we? The fact is that the whole space between is crowded with the enemy, and they had sooner expose the persons of others to this deadly peril than their own."

Some escape to Canusium.

* Canosa.

Others did not so much disapprove of the proposal as want courage to execute it. Then cried Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, a tribune of the soldiers, "Would you sooner be taken prisoners by this rapacious and cruel enemy, and have a price put on your heads and your value determined by enquiries as to whether you are Roman citizens or Latin allies, while others are winning honours out of the miseries and insults you endure? You would not suffer it, if you are fellow-countrymen of the consul, Lucius Æmilius, who chose to die with honour rather than live with disgrace, and of all those gallant citizens who lie in heaps about him. Before day comes upon us, before larger forces of the enemy intercept our way, let us charge through this disorderly and undisciplined foe that clamours at our gates. Courage and the sword can force their way even through the densest enemy. Your column can as easily scatter this loose disorganised array as if it opposed no resistance. Come then with me, all you who wish yourselves and the commonwealth to be in safety." Saying this, he drew his sword, formed a column, and passed through the midst of the enemy. Seeing that the Numidians aimed at their right sides, which were exposed, they changed their shields to their right arms, and escaped to the number of six hundred into the greater camp, and then, having

BOOK XXII. been joined by another considerable force, immediately made their way to Canusium without loss. This action among the conquered came more from the impulse which natural courage or accident supplied than from any concerted plan or any officer's generalship.

51. Round the victorious Hannibal crowded his officers with congratulations and entreaties that now that this mighty war was finished he should take what remained of that day and the following night for rest, and give the same to his wearied soldiers. Maharbal, the general of his cavalry, thought that there should be no pause. "Nay," he cried, "that you may know what has been achieved by this victory, you shall hold a conqueror's feast within five days in the Capitol. Pursue them; I will go before you with my cavalry, and they shall know that you are come before they know you are coming." Hannibal felt that his success was too great for him to be able to realize it at the moment. "He commended," he said, "Maharbal's zeal, but he must take time to deliberate." Maharbal replied, "Well, the gods do not give all gifts to one man. Hannibal, you know how to conquer; not how to use a conquest." That day's delay is believed to have saved Rome and its empire.

*Advice of
Maharbal to
Hannibal.*

*The battle-
field.*

The next day, at daybreak, they issued forth to collect the spoil and to gaze upon a scene of slaughter, at which even a foe must have shuddered. Many thousands of the Roman dead lay there, foot-soldiers and horsemen as chance had thrown them together in the battle or the flight. Some were cut down by the foe as they rose covered with blood from the field of death, revived by the cold of the morning which had closed their wounds. Some, who were discovered lying alive, but with the sinews of thighs and knees divided, bared their necks and throats and begged the foe to shed what blood yet remained to them. Others were found with their heads buried in holes in the earth, and it was evident that they had made these holes for themselves, had heaped up the soil on their faces, and so suffocated themselves. Of all sights the most striking was a Numidian who lay with a dead Roman upon him; he was alive, but his ears and nose were mangled, for with hands that were powerless to grasp a weapon, the man's rage

had turned to madness, and he had breathed his last while he tore his enemy with his teeth. BOOK XXII.

52. Till a late hour of the day Hannibal was gathering in the spoils. This done, he marched to attack the smaller camp. *Surrender of the smaller Roman camp.* His first act was to throw up an earthwork, and so shut them off from the river. But the whole force, so worn out were they with toil and sleeplessness and even wounds, surrendered sooner than he had hoped. It was agreed that they should give up their horses and arms, should pay for every Roman citizen three hundred "chariot" pieces, for every ally two hundred, for every slave one hundred, and that, this ransom discharged, should depart with one garment apiece. They admitted the enemy into their camp, and were all put under arrest, the citizens and allies being kept separate. During the delay thus caused, all who had strength and courage sufficient, that is, about four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, escaped from the greater camp and sought refuge, some marching in column, others by twos and threes, across country, a way quite as safe, into Canusium. The camp was surrendered by the timid and disabled remainder on the same terms as the other. The booty secured was immense, and the whole of it was handed over to the troops, except the horses, the prisoners, and any silver that was found. Most of this was in the trappings of the horses; for of plate for the table they used very little, at least when on service. Hannibal then ordered that the bodies of his own dead should be brought together for burial. It is said that there were as many as eight thousand, all men of tried valour. Some writers say that the body of the Roman consul was also found after search and buried.

Those who had made their escape to Canusium, an Apulian lady, named Busa, of distinguished family and great wealth, supplied with food, clothing, and money for travelling, asking from the people of Canusium for nothing beyond their bare walls and roofs. For this munificence the Senate voted her, at the end of the war, public honours.

53. At Canusium there were four tribunes of the soldiers, Fabius Maximus of the first legion (son of the Fabius who had been dictator the year before), Publicius Bibulus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio of the second legion, and, of the third

BOOK XXII. legion, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had very recently been ædile. The supreme command was unanimously assigned to Scipio, who was a very young man, and to Claudius. They were holding council with a few friends about the state of affairs, when Publius Furius Philus, whose father was an ex-consul, said that it was idle for them to cling to utterly ruined hopes. The State, he declared, was given over for lost. Certain young nobles with Lucius Cæcilius Metellus at their head, were thinking of flying beyond sea and deserting their country for the service of some foreign king. In face of a peril, terrible in itself, and coming with fresh force after so many disasters, all present stood motionless in amazement and stupefaction. They proposed that a council should be called to consider the matter, but the young Scipio, Rome's predestined champion in this war, declared that it was no time for a council. "We must dare and act," he said, "not deliberate, in such awful calamity. Let all who desire the salvation of their country, come armed with me. No camp is more *truly* a camp of the enemy than that in which men have such thoughts." He immediately started with a few followers for the house of Metellus; there he found a gathering of the youths of whom he had heard. Drawing his sword over the heads of the conspirators, "It is my fixed resolve," he cried, "as I will not myself desert the commonwealth of Rome, so not to suffer any other Roman citizen to desert it; if I knowingly fail therein, Almighty and merciful Jupiter, smite me, my house, and fortunes with utter destruction. I insist that you, Lucius Cæcilius, and all others present, take this oath after me. Whoever takes it not, may be sure this sword is drawn against him." They were as frightened as if they saw the victorious Hannibal before them, and to a man they swore and delivered themselves to the custody of Scipio.

*Scipio deters
some of the young
nobles of Canu-
sium from
quitting Italy,
as, in their
despair of
Rome's fortunes,
they had
thought of
doing.*

54. While this was passing at Canusium, the consul was rejoined at Venusia by as many as four thousand five hundred infantry and cavalry, who had dispersed over the country in flight. The people of Venusia distributed them among various households where they might find kindly welcome and refreshment. To each horseman they gave an outer and an inner garment with twenty-five "chariot" pieces, to each foot soldier ten pieces and

*Arrival of some
of the stragglers
at Canusium.*

such arms as he lacked. Public and private hospitality of every kind was shown to them ; and the town did its best not to let a lady of Canusium surpass the people of Venusia in liberality. The growing numbers made the burden on Busa's kindness too heavy. There were now as many as ten thousand men, and Appius and Scipio, on hearing that the other consul was alive, sent to tell him what forces of infantry and cavalry they had with them, and to ask him at the same time whether he would have the army moved to Venusia or remain at Canusium. Varro brought his own troops to Canusium. There was now, at least, something like a consul's army, which might be thought fit to defend itself against the enemy behind walls, if not in the field.

At Rome report said that no such mere remnant of citizens and allies survived, but that the army with the two consuls had been utterly destroyed, and that the whole force had ceased to exist. Never before, with Rome itself still safe, had there been such panic and confusion within our walls. I shall decline the task of attempting a lengthened description which could not but be far inferior to the truth. The year before a consul with his army had perished at Trasumennus ; it was not wound after wound, but multiplied disasters that were announced. Two consuls and the armies of two consuls had perished. Rome had now no camp, no general, no soldiers. Hannibal was master of Apulia, of Samnium, of nearly the whole of Italy. Certainly there was not a nation in the world which would not have been overwhelmed by such a weight of calamity. Compare, for instance, the blow which the Carthaginians received in the sea-fight at the Ægates Islands, a blow which made them evacuate Sicily and Sardinia and allow themselves to be burdened with indemnity and tribute ; compare again the defeat in Africa, by which Hannibal himself was subsequently crushed. In no respect are they comparable with Cannæ, except because they were borne with less courage.

55. Marcus Furius Philus and Manius Pomponius, the prætors, summoned the Senate to meet in the Hall of Hostilius, to deliberate about the defence of Rome. They felt, no doubt, that now that our armies had perished, the enemy would advance to attack the city, the only warlike operation indeed that remained.

BOOK XXII.

*Panic at Rome.**Consultation in the Senate about the defence of Rome.*

BOOK XXII. In the face of calamities as mysterious as they were overwhelming, they could not even so much as form a definite plan; their ears were deafened with the cries of wailing women, for as nothing had been published, the living and the dead were indiscriminately bewailed in almost every house. It was the opinion of Quintus Fabius Maximus that some light horsemen should be sent along the Appian and Latin roads to question any whom they might meet—and certainly stragglers from the rout would be found in all directions—what had happened to the consuls and their armies, and, if heaven in pity for the empire had left some remnant of the Roman nation, where these forces were; where Hannibal had gone after the battle, what he meditated, what he was doing and likely to do? They must have young and energetic men to discover these facts; the duty of the Senators themselves—for there were but very few magistrates in the city—would be to stop the confusion and the alarm at home; to forbid the matrons from appearing in public, and to compel them to keep themselves each in her own house; to prohibit loud lamentations for the dead, to enforce silence throughout the city, to see that all who brought news were taken to the prætors, to wait at home for the bearer of tidings that affected themselves, and to set sentinels at the gates who were to forbid all egress and make men see that their only hope of saving their own lives lay in the safety of Rome and its walls. The tumult once hushed, the Senators should be summoned once more to the House and consulted as to the defence of the city.

*Advice of Fabius
Maximus.*

*It is at once
acted on.*

56. This motion was passed unanimously and without discussion. The crowd was forced by the magistrates to leave the forum, and the Senators separated to quiet the uproar; not till then did a despatch from the consul Caius Terentius arrive. "Lucius Æmilius and his army," it said, "had perished; the writer himself was at Canusium, gathering the relics of this terrible disaster, like the salvage from a shipwreck; he had nearly ten thousand men without discipline or organisation. Hannibal was quiet at Cannæ, trafficking about the ransoms of the prisoners and the other booty in anything but the spirit of a conqueror, in anything but the fashion of a great general."

Then the names of the dead were communicated to their families. So full was the city of lamentation that the yearly festival of Ceres was dropped. It was not lawful for a mourner to keep it, and there was not at that time a single matron who was not a mourner. In the fear that for this same reason other sacred rites, public or private, might be neglected, a decree of the Senate limited the mourning to thirty days. No sooner had the uproar in the city been quieted, and the Senate again summoned to their chamber, than there came a despatch from Lucius Otacilius, pro-prætor, to the effect that king Hiero's dominions were being ravaged by a Carthaginian fleet; that the king had begged his help, and that he was intending to give it, when news came that another fleet was stationed off the Aegates, ready equipped to attack Lilybæum and another of the provinces of Rome, the moment the Carthaginians should find that he had gone to protect the Syracusan coast. A fleet, therefore, was wanted if they meant to shield their ally king Hiero of Sicily.

*Bad news from
Sicily.*

57. When the despatches from the consul and the prætor had been read, they resolved that Marcus Claudius, who was in command of the fleet stationed at Ostia, should be sent to the army at Canusium, with a letter of instructions to the consul that at the first opportunity, as far as it could be done with advantage to the State, he should come to Rome. To all our terrible disasters was added, among other portents, the alarming fact that two of the Vestals were in that year detected in a breach of their vow. Their names were Opimia and Floronia; one, as the custom is, was buried alive at the Colline Gate; the other had killed herself. Lucius Cantilius, secretary to one of the pontiffs (these officers are now called minor pontiffs), who had been guilty with Floronia, was beaten with rods in the market-place by the chief pontiff, and died under the punishment. Such wickedness was naturally looked on as a portent, occurring as it did in the midst of all these calamities. The College of the Ten were ordered to consult the books, and Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent to the oracle at Delphi to inquire what form of prayer and supplication might propitiate the gods, and what was to be the end of all these fearful disasters. Meanwhile, in obedience to the books of Fate, some unusual

BOOK XXII. sacrifices were offered. Among them were a man and a woman of Gaul, and a man and a woman of Greece, who were buried alive in the Ox-market in a stone-vaulted chamber, not then for the first time polluted by what Roman feeling utterly abhorred, human sacrifice.

*Human
sacrifices offered
at Rome.*

*Claudius
Marcellus takes
the command at
Canusium.*

The gods having been, as they thought, duly propitiated, Marcus Claudius sent from Ostia to Rome for the defence of the city fifteen hundred soldiers whom he had with him, enlisted for service in the fleet. He then sent on the naval (*i.e.* the third) legion to Sidicinum, and handing over the fleet to his colleague, Marcus Furius Philus, hastened, a few days afterwards, by forced marches to Canusium. After this Marcus Junius was named dictator, and Titus Sempronius, master of the horse, by the authority of the Senate, and these proclaimed a levy, and enrolled all of seventeen years of age and upwards, and some yet younger. Four legions and a thousand cavalry were thus raised. They also sent to the allies and to the Latin nation for soldiers to be enlisted according to the treaty obligations. Armour, weapons, and other necessities were ordered to be in readiness, and old trophies won from enemies were taken down from the temples and colonnades. The scarcity of freemen and the pressure of necessity suggested a new kind of levy. Eight thousand able-bodied young men from among the slaves, after the question had been put individually whether they were willing to serve, were purchased and armed at the public cost. These troops had this to recommend them, that they rendered it possible to ransom prisoners at a less cost.

*Arming of
slaves.*

*Hannibal's offer
to the Roman
prisoners.*

58. Hannibal, after his great success at Cannæ, was bent on schemes which suited a conqueror rather than one who had yet a war to wage. The prisoners were brought out and classified; the allies, as he had done before at Trebia and Lake Trasumennus, he dismissed with some kind words. The Romans too he addressed, as he had never done before, in quite gentle terms; he had no deadly feud, he said, with Rome; he was fighting for freedom and empire. His fathers had yielded to the valour of Rome; he was now doing his utmost that Rome should yield in turn to his own valour and good fortune. He would therefore give the prisoners an opportunity of ransoming themselves; the sum would be five hundred "chariot" pieces for each horse-

man, three hundred for each foot soldier, one hundred for each slave. The price put on the horsemen was somewhat larger than that which had been agreed upon when they surrendered, but they joyfully accepted any kind of terms which permitted them to treat. It was resolved that they should themselves elect ten deputies, who were to go to the Senate at Rome. No security was taken for their good faith, except an oath that they would return. One Carthalo, a noble of Carthage, was sent with them, bearing conditions of peace, if there should chance to be any inclination in that direction. After they had left the camp, one of their number, a man who had none of a Roman's temper, pretending that he had forgotten something, returned to the camp, so as to acquit himself of his oath, and before night overtook his companions. As soon as it was announced that they were on their way to Rome, a lictor was sent to meet Carthalo with a message that he was to quit Roman territory before nightfall.

Ten of them go to Rome to ask for the means of furnishing the required ransom.

59. The dictator allowed the delegates of the prisoners to address the Senate. Their leader, Marcus Junius, spoke as follows:—"No country, Senators, as we all well know, has ever held prisoners cheaper than has our own; yet unless we are too well satisfied with our own case, no prisoners have ever fallen into the hands of the enemy who were less deserving of neglect than we. We did not surrender our arms on the field of battle from fear, but after prolonging our resistance almost into the night, when we stood upon heaps of dead, we retreated to our camp. During the remainder of that day and during the night that followed, worn out as we were with toil and wounds, we defended our intrenchments; the next day, hemmed in by the victorious army, and shut off from water, seeing no hope of cutting a way through the dense ranks of the foe, and thinking it no shame that with fifty thousand men slain in the field there should be some remnant of Roman soldiers from the fight of Cannæ, then at last we agreed upon a price at which we might be ransomed and released, and surrendered the arms which could no longer give deliverance. We had heard that your ancestors ransomed themselves from the Gauls for gold, and that your fathers, sternly set as they were against all conditions of peace, yet sent envoys to Tarentum to treat for the ransom-

One of them pleads the cause of his fellow prisoners before the Senate

BOOK XXII. "ing of prisoners. Yet the disgrace of our battle at Allia with
"the Gauls, and of our battle at Heraclea with Pyrrhus, was
"not so much in the loss as in the panic and flight of either
"day. The plains of Cannæ are covered with heaps of Roman
"dead, and we survive only because the enemy had not sword
"or strength to slaughter any more. There are some, too,
"among us who were not even in the battle, but were left to
"guard the camp, and came into the hands of the enemy when
"the camp was surrendered. I do not envy the fortune or
"position of any fellow-countryman or comrade, nor would I
"wish to exalt myself by depreciating others; but—unless there
"is some prize for speed of foot and for running—they who
"fled, without arms for the most part, from the battle, nor
"stopped till they reached Canusium or Venusia, cannot justly
"put themselves above us, or boast that the commonwealth finds
"more help in them than in us. But you will employ both
"them (good and gallant soldiers too) and us, who will be yet
"more eager to serve our country, seeing that it is by your
"kindness that we shall have been ransomed and restored to
"that country. You are levying troops from every age and
"class; I hear that eight thousand slaves are being armed.
"There is the same number of us, and we can be ransomed at
"a cost no greater than that for which they are bought. Were
"I to compare our worth with theirs, I should wrong the name
"of Rome. And there is another point, Senators, which I
"think you ought to consider in deciding such a matter, should
"you incline to the sterner course, and do it without regard
"for any deserving of ours, and that is, who is the enemy
"to whom you leave us? Is it to a Pyrrhus who treated his
"prisoners as guests? Or is it to a barbarian, a Carthaginian, of
"whom one can scarcely imagine whether he be more rapacious
"or more cruel? Could you see the chains, the squalor, the
"hideous condition of your countrymen, verily the sight would
"not move you less than if, on the other side, you looked on
"your slaughtered legions lying dead on the plains of Cannæ.
"You may behold the anxiety and the tears of the kinsmen
"who stand in the porch of your House and await your
"answer. If they are so anxious, so troubled for us and for
"those who are absent, what, think you, are the thoughts of

“those whose life and liberty are at stake? Good God! if
 “Hannibal should choose to belie his own nature, and be merci-
 “ful to us, yet we could not think our lives worth anything to
 “us, when you have thought us unworthy to be ransomed. In
 “former days there returned to Rome certain prisoners whom
 “Pyrrhus sent back without ransom; but they returned with
 “envoys, taken from the first men in the State, who had been
 “sent to ransom themselves. Can I return to my country, I,
 “a citizen, not valued at three hundred pieces* of money? * About £2 10s.
 “Every one has his own feelings, Senators. That my life
 “and person are in peril, I know, but I am more troubled by
 “the peril to my character, if we are to depart condemned and
 “repulsed by you; for that you spared the money men will
 “never believe.”

60. As he ended, there rose from the crowd in the place
 of assembly a doleful cry. They stretched out their hands
 towards the Senate House, praying that their children, brothers,
 kinsmen might be restored to them. Mingled with the crowd of
 men were many women, brought thither by fear and affection.
 All strangers were ordered to withdraw, and the debate in the
 Senate began. There was great diversity of opinion; some
 thought that the prisoners should be ransomed at the cost of
 the State; others that no public expense should be incurred,
 but that it should not be forbidden to ransom them at the
 expense of private persons; any one who could not command
 the money at once, might have it lent to them from the treasury,
 giving security to the State by bondsmen and mortgages. At
 last Titus Manlius Torquatus, who was old-fashioned, and, some
 thought, over stern in his severity, spoke, it is said, as follows:—
 “If the envoys had been content with demanding on behalf of
 those who are in the enemy’s hands that they should be
 ransomed, I should have briefly stated my opinion, without
 a word of reproach against any one of them. For surely
 you only needed to be reminded that you must keep to the
 practice handed down from our fathers, for the setting an ex-
 ample necessary to preserve military discipline. As it is, they
 have almost boasted that they surrendered to the enemy, and
 claimed it as their right that they should be preferred, not
 only to the prisoners taken on the field, but even to those who

*Protest of
 Manlius
 Torquatus
 against
 ransoming the
 prisoners.*

BOOK XXII. "made their way to Canusium and Venusia, and to the consul Terentius Varro himself; and therefore I shall not let you, Senators, remain in ignorance of anything that was done there. I would that what I am about to say before you I was saying at Canusium before the army itself, the best possible witness to each man's bravery or cowardice; or that at least Publius Sempronius himself was here, for, had they taken him for their leader, they would this day be soldiers in the camp of Rome, not prisoners in the enemy's hand. The enemy was wearied with fighting, or exhilarated with victory; many of them had actually gone back to their camp; they had the whole night for breaking away, and seven thousand armed men could have broken away even through a dense array of the enemy; yet they neither endeavoured to do this of themselves, nor chose to follow the lead of another. Nearly all night long did Publius Sempronius Tuditanus warn them and urge them without ceasing to follow him while the enemy around the camp was still weak, while quiet and silence still prevailed, while darkness would shelter the attempt. Before dawn, he said, they might reach a place of safety—the cities of our allies. If, as Publius Decius, tribune of the soldiers, spake in Samnium in the days of our grandfathers; if, as in the first Punic War, when we ourselves were young men, Calpurnius Flamma, spake to three hundred volunteers whom he was leading to capture a height situated in the very midst of the foe, 'Let us die, comrades, and deliver the blockaded legions from their peril by our death,'—if, I say, Publius Sempronius had thus spoken, I should take them neither for men nor Romans if he had found no companions in his valour. But he shows you a way that leads to safety quite as much as to glory; he seeks to bring you back to your country, to kinsfolk, wives, and children. You have not the courage to be saved. What would you do if you had to die for your country? Fifty thousand countrymen and allies lie about you slain that very day. If so many examples of valour stir you not, nothing ever will stir you. If such a fearful slaughter does not make life seem worthless to you, nothing ever will make it. Are you free citizens, and possessed of full rights? You may hold your country dear. Yes, you may hold it dear

“while it is your country and you its citizens. Too late you
“hold it dear, your rights forfeited, your citizenship lost,
“yourselves turned into Carthaginian slaves. Are you to return
“at the cost of a ransom to the position which only cowardice
“and wickedness made you quit? To Publius Sempronius when
“he bade you arm yourselves and follow him, you would not
“listen; you listened to Hannibal when he bade you betray your
“camp and deliver up your arms. As it is, I only charge them
“with cowardice when I might charge them with crime. Not
“only did they refuse to follow Sempronius when he gave them
“honourable advice, but they did their best to obstruct and keep
“him back till these gallant men drew their swords and chased the
“cowards away. I say that Sempronius had to force his way first
“through the ranks of his countrymen, then through the ranks
“of the foe. Is our country to care for citizens of such sort that,
“if all others had been like them, she could not count on a single
“one of those who fought at Cannæ, as a citizen indeed? Out of
“seven thousand armed men there were six hundred who dared
“to cut their way out, who returned to their country with their
“arms and their freedom; and to these six hundred the enemy
“made no resistance. How absolutely safe would have been,
“think you, the path to a body consisting of nearly two legions!
“And you would have to-day at Canusium twenty thousand armed
“men, gallant and loyal. As it is, how can these men be good and
“loyal citizens? Brave they do not even themselves claim to be;
“unless, perhaps, some one can believe that men who sought
“to prevent a sally, yet looked with favour on those who sallied,
“and that they do not grudge them the deliverance and the
“glory that their valour has won for them, knowing all the
“while that their own fear and cowardice have brought on them
“an ignominious servitude. They chose to hide in their tents
“waiting at once for the light and the enemy, rather than to
“sally forth in the silence of night. But, you will say, they
“had not the courage to sally from the camp; they had courage
“enough to defend their camp bravely. Blockaded, I suppose,
“night and day, they defended the rampart with their arms, and
“themselves behind the rampart. At last, after reaching the
“extremity of daring and suffering, lacking everything to sup-
“port life, their famine-stricken limbs refusing to bear the weight

BOOK XXII. "of their arms, they yielded to the necessities of nature rather
 "than to arms. At daybreak the enemy approached the ram-
 "part; before eight o'clock, without venturing on any conflict,
 "they surrendered their arms and themselves. Here, mark you,
 "was their two days' soldiership. When they ought to have
 "stood on the field and fought, they fled to the camp; when
 "they ought to have fought before their rampart, they sur-
 "rendered; in field and camp useless alike. And is it you that
 "I am to ransom? When it is your duty to sally out of the
 "camp, you hesitate and tarry; when you are bound to stay and
 "defend the camp, you surrender camp and arms and your-
 "selves to the enemy. I would as soon think of ransoming
 "them, Senators, as I would of surrendering to Hannibal the
 "men who cut their way out of the camp through the midst of
 "the enemy, and by a supreme effort of valour gave themselves
 "back to their country."

*The Senate
 refuses to
 ransom the
 prisoners.*

61. Many of the Senators had near relatives among the prisoners, but when Manlius had done speaking, in addition to the precedent of Rome's immemorial severity in regard to prisoners came the thought of the vast sum required. The treasury must not be exhausted, for large sums had already been spent in buying and arming slaves, and Hannibal, who according to all report was in the utmost need, must not be enriched. When the sad answer came that the prisoners were not to be ransomed adding a new grief to the old in the loss of so many citizens, they attended the envoys to the gates with many tears and complaints. One of them went to his home, as having quitted himself of his oath by the pretence of his return to the camp. When this became known and reached the ears of the Senate, they unanimously voted that the man should be seized and taken under an escort furnished by the State to Hannibal.

There are also other reports about the prisoners. It is said that ten came first. There was some doubt in the Senate whether or no they were to be admitted into the city. They were admitted on the condition, that they were not to have hearing in the Senate. While they tarried longer than any or expected, three new envoys came, Lucius Scribonius, Caius Calpurnius, and Lucius Manlius. Then at last, on the motion of Scribonius, a tribune of the people, the question was raised

of ransoming the prisoners, and the Senate decided against it. BOOK XXII. Upon this the three new envoys returned to Hannibal, but the old envoys remained on the understanding that having returned to Hannibal for the purpose of reviewing the names of the prisoners, they were released from their obligation. There was a fierce debate in the Senate about them, and the proposal to give them up was lost by a few votes. But as soon as new censors came into office, so crushed were they under every mark of censure and degradation, that some of them at once committed suicide, and the rest for the remainder of their lives shunned not merely the forum, but almost the very light of day and the public streets. We may wonder why our authorities differ so much from each other more easily than to determine what is true.

How greatly this disaster surpassed all previous disasters is clearly shown by the fact that the loyalty of our allies, steadfast until that day, now began to waver, simply, indeed, because they despaired of the maintenance of our empire. The following tribes revolted to the Carthaginians: the Atellani, the Calatini, some of the Apulians, all the Samnites except the Pentri, all the Bruttii and the Lucani. To these must be added the Uzentini, nearly all the Greek cities of the coast, Tarentum, Metapontum, Crotona, and Locri, and the whole of Cisalpine Gaul. Yet all these disasters and defections never made the Romans so much as mention peace, either before the consul returned to Rome, or after his return had renewed the remembrance of the terrible loss sustained. On this latter occasion, indeed, such was the high spirit of the country, that when the consul returned after this great disaster of which he had himself been the chief cause, all classes went in crowds to meet him, and he was publicly thanked because "he had not despaired of the commonwealth." Had he been a Carthaginian general, they knew that there was no torture which he would not have had to suffer.

*Revolt among
Rome's allies.*

*Varro, on his
return, is publicly
thanked, because he had
not despaired
of the
commonwealth.*

BOOK XXIII.

B.C. 216, 215.

BOOK XXIII.

*Hannibal in
Samnium.*

* Conza.

*He enters
Campania.*

I. HANNIBAL, immediately after the battle of Cannæ and the capture and plunder of the enemy's camp, had moved from Apulia into Samnium. One Staius Trebius had invited him into the country of the Hirpini, promising to put Compsa * into his hands. Trebius was a native of Compsa, and ranked as a noble among his fellow-citizens, but he had formidable opponents in the faction of the Mopsii, a family of influence through the favour of Rome. After the news of the battle of Cannæ, when Trebius had begun to talk commonly of Hannibal's coming, the Mopsii quitted the city, and the place was at once surrendered to the Carthaginians and a garrison admitted. There Hannibal left all his booty and his baggage ; then dividing his army, he instructed Mago to accept the alliance of all the towns in that district which were revolting from Rome, and to force into revolt such as refused, while he himself marched through Campania towards the Lower Sea with the intention of attacking Naples, and so to possess himself of a city on the coast.

On entering Neapolitan territory he posted some of his Numidians in ambuscade wherever he conveniently could (and there are many deep lanes and unseen hollows), others he ordered to ride up to the city gates, displaying in their front the plunder driven out of the fields. As they seemed to be neither numerous nor disciplined, a troop of cavalry charged them, and then, as they designedly retreated, was drawn into an ambuscade and surrounded. Not a man would have escaped had not the proximity of the sea and some vessels near the

shore, fishing boats for the most part, afforded an escape to such as could swim. But, as it was, some young nobles were taken or slain in the skirmish, among them Hegeas, the commander of the troop, who fell as he too rashly pursued the retiring foe. The sight of walls by no means easy of assault deterred the Carthaginians from attacking the town.

2. Hannibal next directed his march towards Capua, a city demoralised by long prosperity and the bounty of nature, and, most of all, where all was corruption, by the license of a populace that enjoyed a freedom totally without restraint. A certain Pacuvius Calavius had rendered the town-senate servilely submissive to himself and to the commons. The man was a noble as well as a popular favourite, but he had gained his influence by base intrigues. In the year of our disaster at Trasumennus he held, as it chanced, the highest office. Convinced that the populace, which had long hated the senate, would seize the opportunity of revolution to venture on an outrageous crime, that, should Hannibal march into the neighbourhood with a victorious army, it would massacre the senators and betray Capua to the Carthaginians, this man, who, bad as he was, was not wholly and utterly depraved, and would rather rule in a flourishing than in a ruined state, and was assured that no state deprived of its public council could flourish, resorted to a policy, the design of which was, while retaining a senate, to make it subservient to himself and to the commons.

*Establishes
himself at
Capua.*

He summoned the senate, and began by telling them that any scheme of revolt from the Romans would be anything but acceptable to him, had it not been a necessity, as he himself had children by the daughter of Appius Claudius, and had given his only daughter in marriage to Marcus Livius at Rome. "But," he added, "a far more serious and formidable crisis is now impending. The populace are not simply thinking of a revolt which will sweep the senate out of the city, but are bent on handing over to Hannibal and the Carthaginians a city stripped of its leaders by a massacre of every senator. I wish to rescue you from this peril, if only you will let me, and, forgetting past political strifes, trust me." When they all yielded under the constraint of terror, "I will confine you," he said, "in the senate house, and by expressing my approval of

BOOK XXIII. "designs which it would be vain for me to oppose, just as if
 "I were myself an accomplice in the meditated crime, I will
 "find a way of safety for you. Take for this my word any
 "guarantee you please." Such guarantee having been given,
 he went out, ordering the senate house to be closed, and leaving
 a military guard at the entrance so that no one could enter or
 quit the chamber without his permission.

*The senate of
the town con-
fined in their
chamber,*

3. Then he summoned the townsfolk to an assembly. "You
 "have often wished," he said, "that you had the power of
 "inflicting punishment on a wicked and infamous senate.
 "That power you now have, without tumultuously storming,
 "with the utmost peril to yourselves, the houses of individual
 "citizens, guarded, as they are, by a force of clients or of
 "slaves; you have it in safe and uncontrolled possession. Take
 "them, as they are, shut up, all of them, in the senate house,
 "alone, unarmed. But you must not do anything hurriedly or
 "rashly. You shall have from me the right to pronounce
 "sentence of life and death on them, one by one, so that each
 "may pay the penalty he has deserved. But, above all things,
 "you ought to indulge your resentment only on the condition
 "of postponing it to your safety and your interest. Of course
 "you hate, so I suppose, these senators, yet do not wish to be
 "wholly without a senate, as you must have either a king
 "detestable alternative, or else, as the only deliberative assem-
 "bly for a free state, a senate. Consequently, you must do two
 "things at once. You must rid yourselves of the old senate
 "and elect a new one. I will order the senators to be summoned
 "singly, and I will take your opinions as to their fate. What
 "you decide in each case, shall be carried out; but you must
 "elect as a new senator in each one's room a man of firmness
 "and energy before you inflict punishment on the guilty."

*and thus put
into the power of
the populace.*

*A new senate
proposed.*

Pacuvius then sat down, and, throwing the names into an
 urn, ordered the name which was first drawn by lot to be called
 out, and the man himself to be led out of the senate house. As
 soon as the name was heard, every one on his own account ex-
 claimed that the man was bad and vile and deserved punishment.
 Thereupon Pacuvius said, "I see what the opinion is in this
 "case. Choose, then, in the place of a bad and vile man
 "good and upright senator."

At first there was a silence. They were at a loss to suggest a better man. Then when somebody, throwing off his diffidence, suggested a name, there instantly began a much louder shouting, some declaring that they did not know the man, others alleging against him various infamies, or low birth and abject poverty, or some sort of disgraceful occupation or trade. This was repeated with more violence when a second and a third senator were summoned, and it was thus evident that they disliked the man, but that no one was forthcoming to choose into his place. For there was no use in naming the same persons already named, only to hear themselves insulted, and the remainder were far more low-born and obscure than those who first occurred to men's thoughts. And so the crowd dispersed, saying that the evils best known were always the most endurable, and insisting on the senators being released from custody.

BOOK XXIII.
Failure of the attempt to elect new senators.

The senate released.

4. The senate, which was thus made to owe their lives to Pacuvius, felt much more bound to him than to the commons; and the man ruled by a consent that was now universal, without the help of arms. The senators, from that time disregarding their traditions of dignity and freedom, flattered the populace; they would greet them, give them friendly invitations, entertain them at splendid banquets, take up their causes, range themselves on their side, and insure, by empannelling favourable juries, that verdict which was the most acceptable and likeliest to win popularity with the lowest class. In fact all business was now transacted in the senate just as if the commons were there assembled. Thus a community which had always been inclined to luxury, not simply from some defect in character, but from an overflowing abundance of pleasures and the charm of every delight which earth or sea could furnish, became at last so thoroughly demoralised by the indulgence of the leading citizens and the license of the populace, that sensuality and extravagance passed all bounds.

The senators let the populace have their own way.

Luxurious tastes of the citizens of Capua.

To this contempt of the laws, the magistrates, and the senate, there was added now after the battle of Cannæ, scorn of that for which some respect had still remained, the Roman power. One thing only delayed their revolt. An ancient right of intermarriage had united many of their great and powerful families with Rome, and among the many

They think of revolting from Rome.

BOOK XXIII. citizens that served in Roman armies were three hundred knights, strongest bond of all, as being to a man the noblest of the Campanians, whom the Romans had picked out and despatched to garrison the cities of Sicily. Their parents and kinsfolk succeeded with difficulty in having an embassy sent to the Roman consul.

*Embassy to the
Roman consul.*

5. The envoys found that the consul had not yet started for Canusium, but was still at Venusia with a few half-armed followers, the most pitiable object possible to good allies; to the arrogant and disloyal, such as were the Campanians, equally despicable. The consul even increased the contempt felt for himself and his fortunes by too openly and nakedly exposing the disaster. When the envoys told him that the senate and people of Campania were grieved that any calamity should have befallen the Romans, and began to promise all things needful for war,

His reply.

he replied, "When, men of Campania, you bid us make requisitions on you for whatever we want for war, you observe the usual form in addressing allies rather than use language suitable to our present plight. For what has been left us at Cannæ that, as those who still possess something of their own, we could wish allies to make up the deficiency? Are we to order infantry from you, as though we had cavalry? Are we to say that we need money, as if that was our only want? Fortune has left nothing to make up. Our legions, our cavalry, our arms, our standards, our horses, our soldiers, our money, our supplies, were destroyed utterly either on the field or in the two camps which we lost the next day. So, men of Campania, it is not for you to help us in war, but almost to undertake war for us. Bethink yourselves how, when your panic-stricken ancestors in days of old were driven within their walls and were in dread of the Sidicine as well as the Samnite foe, we received them into alliance and saved them at Saticula, and for nearly a hundred years, with varying fortune, bore the brunt of a war with the Samnites that was begun on your behalf. Add to this recollection that, when you were in our power, we gave you a treaty on equal terms, your own laws; finally, what, at any rate before the disaster of Cannæ, was the greatest of boons, we gave our Roman citizenship to a large proportion of your citizens and shared it

"with you. And so, Campanians, you ought to regard this disaster, which we have sustained, as common to us both, and feel that you have to defend a common fatherland. It is not with Samnites or Etruscans that we have to do ; in that case the empire, if wrested from us, would still remain in Italy. The Carthaginian foe drags with him a soldiery that is not even native to Africa, drags it from the remotest regions of the earth, from the ocean straits and the pillars of Hercules, a soldiery strange to law, to compact, almost to human speech. Ruthless and savage as they are by nature and habit, their leader has himself yet further brutalised them by making bridges and barriers out of heaps of human bodies, and teaching them to feed (I loathe to utter it) on human flesh. That men fed on food so horrible, men whom it would be a sin even to touch, we should regard and own as our masters ; that we should seek our laws from Africa and Carthage and let Italy be a province of the Numidians and Moors,—who, if only born in Italy, would not curse such a destiny ? It will be a glorious thing, men of Campania, for an empire which has fallen by a Roman defeat to have been saved and recovered by your loyalty, your might. Thirty thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry can, in my belief, be raised from Campania. Already you have money and corn in abundance. If you show a good faith equal to your resources, Hannibal will not feel himself to be a conqueror nor the Romans to have been conquered."

6. With this speech of the consul the envoys were dismissed. As they were on their way home one of them, Vibius Virrius, said that the time was come when the Campanians might not only recover the territory which the Romans had taken from them in past days, but even possess themselves of the empire of Italy. "We shall conclude," he said, "a treaty with Hannibal on what terms we please, and there will be no question that when the war is over and Hannibal returns victorious into Africa, taking his army with him, the empire of Italy will be left in the hands of the Campanians." All the envoys agreed with what Vibius said, and gave such a report of their mission that every one imagined that the name of Rome was utterly effaced.

BOOK XXIII.

The same Campanian envoys sent to Hannibal.

The commons and a majority of the senate began instantly to think of a revolt. The persuasions of the older citizens, however, obtained a postponement for a few days. At last the opinion of the majority prevailed, and the same envoys who had gone to the Roman consul were to be sent to Hannibal. In some histories I find it recorded that previous to their departure and the final decision for revolt, envoys were sent by the Campanians to Rome, with a demand that one consul should be a Campanian, if Rome desired aid for her empire. There was a burst of indignation, and it was ordered that they should be removed from the Senate House, and a lictor was sent to conduct them out of the city and bid them tarry that day outside Roman territory. But as this too closely resembles a demand formerly made by the Latins, and as Cælius and other writers had omitted it not without good reason, I fear to give it as a well authenticated story.

Negotiations with Hannibal.

7. The envoys came to Hannibal and negotiated a peace with him on the following terms. "No Carthaginian general or magistrate was to have any authority over a Campanian citizen, and no Campanian citizen was to be called on for military or any other service against his will. Capua was to have its own laws and its own magistrates. The Carthaginians were to hand over to the Campanians three hundred of their Roman prisoners, such as the Campanians themselves might choose; these were to be exchanged for the Campanian knights serving in Sicily." Such were the stipulated terms. But the Campanians crowned this compact by the perpetration of infamous outrages. The commanding officers of our allies and other Roman citizens, some of whom were employed in military service of some sort, others tied to the spot by private affairs, were all suddenly seized by the populace, and at their bidding shut up in the public baths, to be kept in safe custody, it was alleged, but really to die a horrible death by suffocation in the heated atmosphere.

Outrage of the Campanians on Roman citizens.

Decius Magius opposed to all these proceedings.

Decius Magius, a man to the supremacy of whose influence nothing was wanting but a rational temper in his fellow-citizens, had opposed these proceedings as well as the despatch of the embassy to the Carthaginians with all his might. As soon as he heard that Hannibal was sending them a garrison, he reminded

them, as a parallel case, of the insolent tyranny of Pyrrhus and of the pitiable servitude of the Tarentines. First he publicly protested against the admission of the troops ; next he insisted that, if admitted, they should either be driven out, or, rather, if they had a mind to clear themselves of the crime of revolt against ancient allies of kindred blood, they should massacre the Carthaginian garrison and again submit themselves to Rome. All this, and indeed it was not done in secret, was reported to Hannibal. First, he sent messengers to summon Magius to his presence in the camp ; then, upon the haughty refusal of Magius on the ground that Hannibal had no authority over a Campanian citizen, the Carthaginian, roused to fury, ordered the man to be arrested, chained, and dragged before him. Afterwards fearing that violence might lead to uproar, and the excitement of men's minds provoke some rash conflict, he sent on in advance a message to Marius Blossius, chief magistrate of Campania, that he would be at Capua the next day, and started from the camp with a small force.

*He refuses to
obey Hannibal's
summons.*

Marius called an assembly and issued a proclamation that the people were to go in a body with their wives and children to meet Hannibal. All did so, not in mere obedience, but with enthusiasm ; for the populace were well disposed to Hannibal and were intensely eager to see a general now famous for so many victories. Decius Magius did not go out to meet him, neither did he keep himself at home, as this would have implied the fear of conscious guilt. He strolled leisurely up and down the forum with his son and a few of his dependants, while all the citizens were rushing excitedly to welcome and gaze on Hannibal. On entering the town Hannibal at once demanded a meeting of the senate. The leading Campanians implored him not to transact any serious business that day, but to celebrate it with hearty joy, as the festal occasion of his arrival. Though he was naturally impetuous in his wrath, yet, not to begin by a refusal, he passed most of the day in viewing the city.

*The people of
Capua welcome
Hannibal.*

8. He was entertained by Sthenius and Pacuvius, men distinguished by their rank and wealth. Pacuvius Calavius, of whom I have already spoken as the leader of the party which had dragged the country into the Carthaginian alliance, brought his son, a young man, to the house. He had forced

BOOK XXIII. him away from the companionship of Decius Magius, with whom the youth had stood up for the Roman alliance in opposition to the treaty with Carthage, and neither the changed temper of the citizens nor the authority of his father had driven him from his resolution. For this youth the father, by intercessions rather than by apologies, now secured Hannibal's pardon. Overcome by the entreaties and tears of the parent, Hannibal gave orders that both son and father be invited to dinner, though he had not intended that any Campanian should be present at the entertainment except his hosts and Vibellius Taurea, a man of fame as a soldier.

The feasting began early in the day, and the banquet was not in Carthaginian fashion, or in conformity with military discipline, but, as might have been expected in a city and a house, both rich and luxurious, furnished with every allurement of pleasure. One alone, the young Calavius, could not be urged to drink, either by the solicitations of the host or even by the occasional pressing of Hannibal; he himself pleaded indisposition, while his father gave as a further reason his very natural excitement. About sunset Calavius left the banquet and was followed by his son. As soon as they reached a retired spot (it was a garden at the back of the house), the son said, "I suggest a plan, father, by means of which we Campanians shall at once not only secure from the Romans pardon for the error of our revolt to Hannibal, but shall also enjoy far greater esteem and favour than ever in the past." Full of amazement the father asked what the plan was, when the youth threw back his toga from his shoulder, and exposed to view a sword girt at his side. "This instant," he exclaimed, "with the blood of Hannibal I will make a binding treaty with Rome. I wished you to know this beforehand, should you perchance prefer to be absent while the deed is done."

The young man proposes to assassinate Hannibal.

He is deterred by his father, to whom he yields.

9. The old man, on hearing and seeing this, felt as if he were witnessing the deed of which he was hearing, and was beside himself with terror. "I implore and entreat you, son," he said, "by every bond which unites a child to his parent not to be bent on doing and suffering before a father's eyes all that is unspeakably horrible. Did we but a few hours ago plight our faith, swearing by every imaginable divinity, and joining

“hand to hand, that we are now to leave a friendly conversation, BOOK XXIII.
“and in a moment arm against him hands bound by these
“sacred pledges? Do you rise from the hospitable table to
“which you with only two other Campanians have been invited
“purposing to stain that very table with the blood of your host?
“Have I, a father, been able to obtain mercy from Hannibal for
“my son, and can I not obtain mercy from that son for Hannibal?
“But put aside all sacred ties, all good faith, all obligation, all
“sense of duty; dare a deed unspeakably horrible, if along with
“the guilt it does not bring ruin on us. Is it alone that you
“mean to fall upon Hannibal? What say you to that crowded
“gathering of freemen and of slaves, to the gaze of all eyes
“steadfastly bent on one man, to those many strong hands?
“Will they be paralysed at the moment of your mad attempt?
“And the face of Hannibal himself, the face which armed hosts
“cannot confront, at which the people of Rome quail, will you
“confront it? Suppose the absence of other safeguards; will
“you have the heart to strike down me, your father, when I
“interpose my life to save the life of Hannibal? Well, but it is
“through my breast that you must smite and pierce him.
“Suffer yourself now to be dissuaded here rather than to be
“vanquished there. Let my entreaties prevail with you, as this
“day they have prevailed for you.”

Then seeing the youth in tears he clasped him round the waist, clung to him with kisses, and did not cease his entreaties till he had constrained him to cast aside his sword, and to pledge himself to do no such deed. Upon this the youth replied, “As for myself, the duty I owe my country shall be paid to my father. I sorrow for your lot, for you have to bear the guilt of a thrice betrayed country, betrayed first when you prompted revolt from Rome, a second time when you prompted a peace with Hannibal; a third time this day, when you are an obstacle and a hindrance to the restoration of Capua to the Romans. Receive this sword, my country, with which I armed myself in your defence to enter this stronghold of an enemy, since a father wrests it from me.” With these words, he flung the sword over the hedge of the garden into the public street, and that there might be no suspicion of the matter, returned himself to the banquet.

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10. Next day Hannibal attended a full meeting of the senate. The first part of his address was very conciliatory and friendly. In this he thanked the Campanians for having preferred his friendship to alliance with Rome, and among other magnificent promises he assured them that Capua would soon be the head of all Italy, and that even the Romans with its other peoples would seek laws from their city. One man alone was to have no part in the Carthaginian friendship and in the treaty they had concluded with him, Decius Magius, a man who was not and ought not to be called a Campanian. Of that man he required the surrender, and in his own presence his case must be considered and a resolution of the senate be passed.

*Hannibal
demands the
surrender of
Decius Magius.*

*The demand
granted,*

All voted for the proposal, though many were of opinion that the man did not deserve such a calamity, and that this was no slight beginning towards breaking down the rights of freedom. Hannibal left the senate house, and taking his seat on the magistrate's bench, ordered Decius Magius to be arrested, set at his feet, and put on his defence. When the man, who still retained his high spirit, urged that by the terms of the treaty this could not be insisted on, he was thrown into chains, and orders were given that he should be conducted to the camp, with a lictor behind him. So long as he was led along with his head uncovered, he harangued incessantly as he went, shouting to the crowds that gathered round him, "You have, Campanians, the freedom which you sought. In the middle of the forum, in broad daylight, under your eyes, I who am inferior to no man of Campania, am dragged away in chains to execution. What worse violence could be done if Capua were a captured city? Go and meet Hannibal, deck your streets and keep the day of his arrival as a holiday, so that you may gaze on this triumph over your fellow-citizens."

*and Magius is
conducted to
Hannibal's
camp.*

As the mob seemed to be excited at these shouts of his, his head was covered and orders were given to hurry him swiftly outside the city gate. And so he was conducted to the camp, and instantly put on board a vessel and despatched to Carthage. Even the senate, it was thought, if a disturbance in the city were provoked by this shameful business, might repent of having surrendered their chief man, and, should an embassy be sent for his recovery, they would either have to offend their new

*He is put on
board a vessel to
go to Carthage.*

allies by refusing their first request, or else, by granting it, have to tolerate the presence of a leader of discord and disorder at Capua. BOOK XXIII.

A storm drove the vessel to Cyrenæ, which was then under the rule of kings. Here Magius fled for refuge to the statue of King Ptolemæus, whence he was conveyed by guards to Alexandria into the king's presence. Having explained to Ptolemæus that he had been put in chains by Hannibal in violation of the terms of a treaty, he was set at liberty and permission to return to Rome or to Capua, as he chose, was granted him. Magius said that Capua was not safe for him, while Rome, during the war between the Romans and Campanians, would be a home for a deserter rather than for a friendly visitor. There was not a country where he would sooner live than the realm of the prince in whom he had found the champion and upholder of his freedom.

The vessel is wrecked, and he escapes to Alexandria.

II. During these occurrences, Quintus Fabius Pictor, our envoy, returned from Delphi and read from a written document the oracle's reply. The gods and goddesses to whom prayer was to be made, and the mode of making it, were given. Next it said: "If, Romans, you will do accordingly, your plight will be better and easier, and your commonwealth will fare more as you would wish, and victory in the war will be with the people of Rome. When your state has prospered and has been saved, send to the Pythian Apollo a gift out of the gains you will have earned, and pay him honour out of the plunder, the booty, and the spoils. All levity put far from you."

Return of the Roman envoy from Delphi with the answer of the oracle.

This translated from the Greek verses he read aloud, and then he said that on leaving the oracle he at once offered sacrifice to all these gods and goddesses with wine and incense; that the presiding priest of the temple had bidden him go on board his ship with the same laurel garland which he had worn when he visited the oracle and performed the sacrifice, and that, fulfilling all the directions prescribed him with the most conscientious care and exactness, he had laid the garland on the shrine of Apollo at Rome. The Senate decided that these sacred rites and prayers should be carefully performed at Rome at the earliest opportunity.

During these proceedings in Rome and Italy, there had

BOOK XXIII. arrived at Carthage with tidings of the victory at Cannæ, Mago, Hamilcar's son. He had not been despatched by his brother from the actual battle-field, but had been detained some days in receiving into alliance the Bruttian communities, as one after another they revolted. As soon as a meeting of the senate had been granted him, he recounted his brother's achievements in Italy, how he had fought battles with six generals, four being consuls, and two respectively a dictator and a master of the horse, and with armies under consular command; how he had slain over two hundred thousand men, and taken over fifty thousand prisoners. Of the four consuls two had fallen; of the two remaining one was wounded, and the other, after losing his entire army, had barely escaped with fifty men. The master of the horse had been routed and put to flight; the dictator, as he had never trusted himself to fight, was reputed a peerless general. The Bruttians and Apulians, some of the Samnites and Lucanians, had revolted to Carthage; Capua, the head not only of Campania but even of Italy after the prostration of Rome by the battle of Cannæ, had given itself up to Hannibal. For so many great victories it was reasonable that there should be a formal thanksgiving to the immortal gods.

12. Then in confirmation of such joyful intelligence, he bade them pour on the threshold of the senate house rings of gold in so vast a heap as to make up, when measured, three pecks and a half according to some authors. But the prevalent and more probable report is that they did not exceed one peck. Afterwards he explained, to prove the disaster was yet greater than it seemed, that only a knight, and of the knights only the first in rank, wore this ornament. The drift of his speech was that the nearer was Hannibal's prospect of ending the war, the more ought they to support him with assistance of every kind. He was fighting far from home in the heart of an enemy's country; there was a vast consumption of provisions and money, and so many battles, though they had destroyed whole armies of the enemy, had to some extent reduced the forces of the conqueror as well. They ought therefore to send reinforcements; they ought to send money for pay and provisions to troops which had deserved so well of the name of Carthage.

Amid the universal joy that followed Mago's words, Himilco,

He exhorts his countrymen to support Hannibal.

BOOK XXIII.

*Himilco taunts
Hanno with
his foolish
opposition to the
war.*

Hanno's reply.

a man of the Barcine faction, who thought he saw room for taunting Hanno, said : " Well, Hanno, do you still repent of our having made war on the Romans ? Bid us surrender Hannibal ; tell us we are not to render thanks to the immortal gods for such successes. Let us hear the voice of a Roman senator in the Carthaginian Assembly House." Hanno replied : " I would have been silent to-day, fellow senators, rather than say amid the common rejoicing of all what may not be quite welcome to you. Now, however, when asked by a senator whether I still repent of our having made war on the Romans, you would see in me, were I to be silent, a temper either haughty or servile. The first is the character of the man who forgets the freedom of others ; the latter that of him who forgets his own.

" My answer," he went on to say, " to Himilco is that I have not ceased to repent of the war, and that I never shall cease to find fault with your invincible general till I see the war ended on some tolerable terms. Nothing, indeed, but a new peace will terminate my regret for the peace of old days. And so what Mago hast just boastfully told us to the present delight of Himilco and Hannibal's other partisans, may delight me, because success in war, if we choose to use our good fortune, will give us a more favourable peace. If, indeed, we let slip this opportunity when we may have the credit of offering peace rather than of accepting it, I am afraid that even this our present rejoicing will grow wanton and end in vanity. And yet even now what does it mean ? ' I have destroyed whole armies of the enemy ; send me soldiers.' What else would you ask had you been beaten ? ' I have taken two of the enemy's camps, full, of course, of booty and provisions ; give me corn and money.' What else would you want from us had you been despoiled and deprived of your camp ? And that I may not merely express my own surprise at everything, let me say—for I too, since I have answered Himilco, have the fullest right to ask a question—that I should wish that either Himilco or Mago would reply. The fight at Cannæ, you say, was almost the destruction of Rome's empire, and all Italy is admitted to be in revolt. Has any nation of Latin race revolted to us ? has a single man of the five-and-thirty Roman tribes deserted to Hannibal ? "

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Mago's answer.

13. Mago's reply was a denial in both cases. "Then too many of the enemy," said Hanno, "still remain. But I should like to know what is the temper, what the confidence of this vast host." Mago said that of this he knew nothing. "Nothing may be more easily known," was Hanno's answer. "Have the Romans sent any envoys to Hannibal to treat for peace? Have you had news of any mention at all of peace at Rome?"

To this again Mago said No. "Then we have," said Hanno, "a war upon our hands just as fresh as on the day when Hannibal crossed over into Italy. Many of us are still alive to remember the frequent alternations of victory in the former Punic war. Never did our fortunes seem more prosperous both by sea and land than previous to the consulship of Caius Lutatius and Aulus Postumius. As soon as they were consuls, we were utterly defeated at the Ægates islands. And if now too (the gods avert the omen!) fortune somewhat change, do you hope, when vanquished, for the peace which, now that we are victorious, no one offers? I have indeed an opinion to express, if the question is to be whether we are to offer the enemy peace or to accept it; but if you mean to discuss Mago's demands, I maintain that we have no business to send what he asks to a conquering army, still less ought we to send it when they are deluding us with a vain and empty hope."

*It is decided
to support
Hannibal.*

A few only were impressed by Hanno's speech. His feud with the Barcine family impaired the authority of his advice, and the joy too which at the moment possessed all hearts made their ears deaf to anything which might weaken the grounds of their exultation. The war, they thought, would soon be over, if they resolved to exert themselves a little. And so with the heartiest unanimity a vote was carried in the senate to send Hannibal, as reinforcements, four thousand Numidians, with forty elephants and a supply of money. An officer with supreme powers was sent on at once with Mago into Spain to raise twenty thousand infantry and four thousand horse to fill up the ranks of the armies in Italy and Spain.

*Energy of the
Romans.*

14. All this, however, was done as tardily and languidly as is usual in the midst of success. The plight of the Romans as well as their natural energy kept them from being dilatory. The

consul failed not in any duty which he had to discharge, and the dictator, Marcus Junius Pera, after due performance of the sacred rites and the customary application to the popular assembly for permission to use a horse, not content with the two city legions which the consuls had raised early in the year, a levy of slaves and a muster of troops from Picenum and Gaul, stooped to the last resource of a country almost past hope, when honour must yield to necessity. He issued a proclamation addressed to all who had committed capital offences or who were in prison as convicted debtors, that such of them as should serve as soldiers under him should by his authority be released from punishment and debt. Six thousand of these men he equipped out of the Gallic spoils, which had been carried in the triumph of Caius Flaminius, and so he marched from Rome with twenty-five thousand armed soldiers.

After receiving the submission of Capua and making another fruitless appeal to the hopes and fears of the Neapolitans, Hannibal led his army into the country round Nola. His attitude indeed was not immediately hostile, as he did not despair of a voluntary surrender, but he meant, should they long disappoint his hopes, to spare the people nothing in the way of all possible suffering or terror. The senate, especially the leading men, loyally adhered to their alliance with Rome; the commons, as usual, were all for change and devoted to Hannibal, while they let their thoughts dwell on the horror of ravaged fields and the many hardships and indignities they would have to endure in a siege. Instigators of revolt too were not wanting. Thus the senators, seized with apprehension that if they openly stood their ground there was no possibility of resisting the infuriated populace, found means to defer the calamity by feigning compliance. They pretended that they liked the notion of revolt to Hannibal, but that it was far from clear on what terms they would be entering into a new treaty and alliance.

Hannibal in the neighbourhood of Nola.

Dissensions among the citizens of Nola.

Having thus secured some delay, they despatched envoys with all speed to the Roman prætor, Marcellus, who was with an army at Casilinum. They explained to him how extreme was the jeopardy of the people of Nola; how their territory was in the hands of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, how their city would be his forthwith, unless they received aid. By conceding

Envoys sent to Marcellus.

BOOK XXIII. a promise to the populace that they would revolt when they wished, the senate had prevailed on them not to rush into instant revolt.

Marcellus warmly praised the citizens of Nola, and bade them delay matters till his arrival by the same pretexts. Meanwhile they were to conceal what had passed between them and himself and all prospect of help from Rome. From Casilinum he directed his march towards Caiatia,* whence, after crossing the Volturnus, he reached Nola through the district of Saticula and Trebula over the hills above Suessula.†

* Caiazzo

† Sessola.

*Arrival of
Marcellus.*

15. On the arrival of the Roman prætor, the Carthaginian quitted the territory of Nola and marched down to the sea, close to Naples. He was eager to possess himself of a town on the coast, that ships might have a safe passage from Africa; but as soon as he heard that the place was held by a Roman officer (Marcus Junius Silanus was there, invited by the citizens themselves), he passed by Naples as he had Nola, and made for Nuceria.‡ For some time he besieged the place, frequently attacking it, frequently addressing vain solicitations now to the populace, now to the chief men, till at last he obtained its surrender by famine on the understanding that the inhabitants were to leave it without arms and with one garment apiece. Then, inasmuch as from the first he had wished to seem friendly to all Italians, except Romans, he offered rewards and honours to those who remained and were willing to serve under him. Not a man, however, did he secure by this prospect. They all fled hither and thither, wherever ties of friendship or the impulse of the moment urged them, through the towns of Campania, to Nola and Naples especially. About thirty senators all, as it happened, of the first rank, made for Capua, and finding themselves shut out because the Capuans had closed their gates against Hannibal, took refuge at Cumæ. The spoil of Nuceria was given to the soldiers; the city was plundered and burnt. Marcellus held Nola as much by the good-will of its leading men as by confidence in his garrison. The populace he dreaded and above all one Lucius Baptius. The conscious guilt of attempted revolt and fear inspired by the Roman prætor prompted this man at one moment to betray his birthplace, and another, should fortune fail him in this, to desert to the enemy.

‡ Nocera.

*Surrender of
Nuceria to
Hannibal.*

*A citizen of
Nola wishes to
surrender the
town to
Hannibal.*

He was a youth of spirit, and the noblest knight of the time among all our allies. Hannibal had found him half dead at Cannæ amid a heap of slain; he had treated him kindly, had even made him a present, and so sent him home. Gratitude for these favours made him wish to hand over Nola to the control and dominion of the Carthaginians, and the prætor saw that he was restless and disquieted by thoughts of revolution. BOOK XXIII.

As the man had to be either checked by punishment or won by kindness, Marcellus thought it better that a brave and energetic ally should be secured for himself than lost to the enemy. He therefore invited him to his quarters and spoke kindly to him. *Marcellus wins the man over by kind words and promises.* "You have a host of envious fellow-citizens," he said, "and hence one may easily infer, what no citizen of Nola has told me, how numerous have been your noble deeds in war. However, if a man has once been a soldier in a Roman camp, his valour cannot remain hidden. Many who have served with you tell me what a brave man you are, what dangers you have repeatedly encountered for the safety and honour of the Roman people, and how you never quitted the field of Cannæ till you were buried almost lifeless under a falling mass of men, horses, and arms. And so, Heaven's blessing on your valour. From me you shall have every distinction and reward; and that you may be the oftener with me, you shall see that this means both honour and advantage to you."

The young man was delighted at these promises. Marcellus presented him with a splendid charger, and bade his quæstor count out for him five hundred silver coins. His lictors had orders to allow him to visit him as often as he pleased. This courtesy on the part of Marcellus so completely subdued the temper of the high-spirited youth, that from that time Rome had not a braver and more loyal champion among her allies.

16. Hannibal being once more before the gates of Nola (he had again moved his camp thither from Nuceria), and the populace once more thinking of revolt, Marcellus on the enemy's approach had retired within the walls. He did not fear for his camp, but no opportunity of betraying the town would he give to those too numerous citizens who were intent on treachery. Both armies now began to array themselves for battle, the Roman army before the walls of Nola, the Carthaginians in *Hannibal before Nola.*

BOOK XXIII. front of their camp. Hence ensued skirmishes with varying result between the town and the camp, as the generals did not choose either to hold back the few soldiers who rashly challenged their foes or to give the signal for a general engagement.

Such being now the position day after day of the two armies, the leading citizens of Nola told Marcellus that there were nightly communications between the commons and the Carthaginians, and that it had been decided to plunder the baggage and property of the Roman troops as soon as they marched out of the gates, then to close the gates and take possession of the ramparts, intending to admit the Carthaginians instead of the Romans the moment they had the control of their own affairs and of the town. Marcellus, on receiving this information, highly commended the senators of Nola, and resolved to try the fortune of battle before any disturbance broke out in the town.

*Marcellus
decides to fight.*

He drew up his army in three divisions at three gates facing the enemy, with orders that the baggage was to follow close behind, and that the soldiers' servants, the sutlers, and the invalids were each to carry a stake. At the middle gate he posted the main strength of his legions and his Roman cavalry, at the other two his raw recruits, his newly-enlisted men, and his light-armed troops. The inhabitants of Nola were not allowed to approach the walls or the gates, and the force intended as a reserve was assigned to the baggage, so that an attack might not be made on it when the legions were engaged in the fight.

Thus drawn up they stood within the gates. Hannibal, who, as he had done for several days, had his troops under arms till a late hour, was first of all astonished that the Roman army did not march out of the city, and that not a single armed soldier appeared on the walls. Concluding that the secret of the communications had been betrayed, and that fear kept his friends quiet, he sent back part of his troops to their camp with orders to bring up to the front all the appliances for an assault, as he was confident that, if he met hesitation with prompt action, the populace would raise some disturbance in the town. While all were hurrying in bustle and excitement to their several posts amid the foremost standards and the front line was approaching the wall, suddenly the gate was thrown open, at the

order of Marcellus the trumpet sounded the signal, a shout was raised, and first the infantry and then the cavalry flung themselves on the enemy with all the fury of their fiercest attack. They had already carried terror and confusion enough into the centre of his line, when from the two adjacent gates the lieutenants, Valerius Flaccus and Caius Aurelius, burst upon his flanks. Added to all this came a shout from the sutlers and soldiers' servants and the rest of the crowd set to guard the baggage. To the Carthaginians, who were specially scornful of the scanty numbers of the foe, this gave the sudden semblance of an immense army. I would not myself venture to affirm what some authors state, that two thousand eight hundred of the enemy were slain, with a loss of not more than five hundred Romans. However, whether the victory was as great or less considerable, a mighty result, the greatest perhaps throughout the war, was achieved that day. For indeed not to be defeated by Hannibal was for the victors on that occasion a harder matter than it was afterwards to defeat him.

*His successful
attack on
Hannibal.*

17. As soon as Hannibal, who had now lost all hope of possessing himself of Nola, had retired to Acerræ,* Marcellus instantly closed the city gates, setting guards at them that no one might go out, and then held an inquiry in the forum on the men who had been in secret communication with the enemy. More than seventy he convicted and beheaded; their property was by his order confiscated for the uses of the Roman people; the senate was invested with supreme authority, and Marcellus marched out with his whole army and established himself in a camp overlooking Suessula.

* Acerra.

The Carthaginian at first attempted to persuade Acerræ to a voluntary surrender, but on seeing that the inhabitants were resolute, he prepared for a siege and an assault. The town-folk had more courage than strength. Despairing of the defence of their city when they saw the blockade closing round their walls, they stole away in the silence of night, before the circle was completed, through any gap in the lines or at any negligently guarded point, and with or without the track of roads to guide them they fled, as design or chance suggested, to those cities of Campania which it was certain had not thrown off their allegiance.

*Hannibal
captures Acerræ.*

BOOK XXIII.

*Marches on
Casilinum.*

After plundering and burning Acerræ, Hannibal, who had received intelligence from Casilinum that the Roman dictator was advancing with his legions, and feared some revolutionary movement also in Capua with the enemy's camp in such close proximity, marched his army to Casilinum. The place was then held by five hundred citizens of Præneste, and with them were a few Romans and men of Latin nationality, whom the news of the battle of Cannæ had driven thither for refuge. The levy at Præneste not having been completed by the proper day, these five hundred had left their homes too late. They had reached Casilinum before the news of the defeat, and being there joined by other Romans and allies, they had marched out of the town in considerable force, when tidings of the battle turned them back to it. There, notwithstanding the suspicions of the Campanians and their own fears, they passed some days in securing themselves against plots and in hatching plots in their turn, till they knew as a certain fact that negotiations were on foot for the revolt of Capua and the admission of Hannibal. Then they massacred the townsfolk by night and seized the part of the city on this side of the Volturnus, the river which divides it. And so the Romans had this force as a garrison at Casilinum. There was also in addition a cohort from Perugia* of four hundred and sixty men, driven to Casilinum by the same news which a few days before had driven thither the men of Præneste. There were about enough armed soldiers to defend so small an extent of walls, surrounded too as the place was on one side by a river. Want of corn, however, made the number of men seem actually excessive.

* Perugia.

*Siege of
Casilinum.*

18. As soon as Hannibal was within a moderate distance of the place, he sent forward some Gætulians, under an officer named Isalcas, with orders, first of all, in the event of a friendly interview being possible, to coax the citizens with kindly words into opening their gates and admitting a garrison; but, should they persist in obstinate resistance, to resort to force and try an assault on any part of the city that might be practicable. When they approached the walls, all was silent, and it seemed a solitude. Fear, so the barbarian thought, had driven them away, and he was preparing to storm the gates and break down the barriers, when suddenly they were thrown open, and two cohorts,

drawn up inside for this express purpose, burst forth with a great tumultuous rush and made havoc of the enemy. The foremost ranks having been thus beaten back, Maharbal was despatched with a stronger force of the best soldiers, but even he could not sustain the furious onset of the cohorts. At last Hannibal pitched his camp before the walls, and, small as was the place and small the garrison, prepared for an attack in full force, with his whole army. While he was threatening and harassing the town, having drawn his lines completely round the walls, he lost several of his soldiers, and these his bravest men, struck down from the ramparts and towers. Once, when they in their turn attacked, he all but cut them off by confronting them with a troop of elephants, and drove them back in confusion to their walls with considerable loss for such a mere handful of men. More would have been slain had not night stopped the fighting.

Next day the heart of every soldier was fired with ardour for the assault; the more so when a golden wreath was offered for the first man on the ramparts, and when Hannibal himself taunted the captors of Saguntum with their tardy efforts to storm a fortress which stood on level ground, and reminded them one and all of Cannæ, Trasumennus, and Trebia. The regular siege-works and mines were then applied, nor again did the Roman allies fail to meet the various attempts of the enemy with force and skill of every kind. The siege-works they encountered with barriers for defence, and the hostile mines they intercepted with counter-mines, thus opposing a resistance to every open or secret attack, till actual shame turned Hannibal from his purpose. He fortified a camp, leaving in it a moderate force, that the siege might not be regarded as abandoned, and retired into winter quarters at Capua.

*Hannibal goes
into winter
quarters
at Capua;*

Here for most of the winter he had his army under cover. Often and long had it steeled itself against every human hardship, and of comfort it had had no trial or experience. And thus the men whom no intensity of misery had conquered, were now ruined by a superfluity of good things and an excess of pleasure, all the more utterly, as from the novelty of these enjoyments they plunged into them so greedily. Sloth, wine, feasting, women, baths, and idle lounging, which, with daily habit, became increasingly attractive, so enervated both body and mind, that

*His troops
become
demoralised.*

BOOK XXIII.

henceforth it was their past victories rather than their present strength which saved them. This error of the general was considered by good judges of the art of war more fatal than his not having marched instantly from the field of Cannæ to Rome. Delay on that occasion could be thought only to have deferred victory; this blunder sacrificed, as it seemed, the strength needful for victory. And so undoubtedly, just as if it had been another army with which he had left Capua, Hannibal kept up afterwards none of his old discipline. In fact, entanglements with women made many of his men return thither, and the moment they began to serve under canvas, and trenching and other military duties came upon them, body and spirit alike gave way, as if they had been raw recruits. From that time during the whole period of the summer campaigns, numbers would steal away from the ranks without leave, and it was Capua, and Capua only, that was the hiding-place of the deserters.

*Hannibal
continues the
siege of
Casilinum.*

19. As winter gradually relaxed, Hannibal marched his soldiers out of their quarters, and went back to Casilinum. Though there had been a cessation from all attacks on the place, still the prolonged blockade had reduced the inhabitants and the garrison to the extremity of want. The Roman camp was under the command of Tiberius Sempronius, as the dictator had gone to Rome to renew the auspices. Marcellus was himself eager to relieve the besieged, but he was detained alike by the swollen waters of the river Volturnus and the entreaties of the citizens of Nola and Acerræ, who were in dread of the Campanians, should the Roman force retire. Sempronius merely watched Casilinum, without attempting any movement, as the dictator's instructions were that he was not to engage in any operation during his absence. Yet the news he received from Casilinum was such as might easily overcome the utmost patience. It appeared, in fact, that some, rather than endure their hunger, had flung themselves from the walls, while others stood on them unarmed, with their bare bodies exposed to the blows of missiles. All this Sempronius bore with impatience. As he dared not fight without orders from the dictator (though fight he saw he must, if he was openly to get corn into the place), and as there was no prospect of introducing corn secretly, he collected grain from all the neighbouring country, filled a number of casks with it

and sent a message to the chief magistrate at Casilinum to have any casks stopped which the river floated down. The following night, when all were watching the stream, intent on the hopes held out by the Roman message, the casks floated down the mid-channel of the river, and the corn was equally distributed among the entire population. The same thing was done on the next day and the day after. It was by night that the casks were despatched, and by night that they arrived ; thus the enemy's sentries were eluded.

*Supplies of food
secretly intro-
duced into the
city.*

After a time the river became more than usually rapid from continuous rains, and drove the casks by a cross eddy to the side guarded by the enemy. There they were seen, sticking in beds of willow which grew on the banks, and the matter being reported to Hannibal, he set a stricter watch, so that nothing sent to the town down the Vulturnus might escape him. However, a vast quantity of walnuts, thrown out of the Roman camp, and floated down the middle of the stream, was caught on hurdles. At last the inhabitants were reduced to such want that they tried to chew leathern thongs and the hides off their shields, steeped in hot water, and scrupled not to devour mice, or, indeed, any living creature ; even every kind of grass and roots they tore up from the bottom of their walls. The enemy, having ploughed up all the grass-grown surface outside the ramparts, they sowed it with rape, upon which Hannibal exclaimed, "Am I to sit still before Casilinum till those seeds grow?" He who hitherto had not listened to a word about stipulations, now at last allowed them to discuss with him the ransom of free-born citizens. Seven ounces of gold was the price agreed on for each. Having received a guarantee of safety, they surrendered. They were kept in chains till all the gold was paid. Then they were sent back to Cannæ under protection. This is more probable than that they were charged by the cavalry as they were leaving, and cut to pieces. Most of them were natives of Præneste. Out of five hundred and seventy who were in the garrison, somewhat less than half had perished by hunger or the sword ; the rest returned in safety to Præneste with their officer, Marcus Anicius, who had formerly been a clerk. His statue marked the event, set up, as it was, in the forum at Præneste, mailed, clad in

*Surrender
of Casilinum.*

BOOK XXIII. a toga, and with the head covered, and there were three standards with this inscription on a bronze plate :—"Marcus Anicius vowed this vow for the soldiers who served in garrison at "Casilinum." The same inscription was written under three standards deposited in the temple of Fortune.

20. The town of Casilinum was restored to the Campanians and garrisoned by a force of seven hundred men from Hannibal's army, that it might not be attacked by the Romans after the withdrawal of the Carthaginians. The Roman Senate voted double pay and five years' exemption from service to the soldiers from Præneste. When the Roman franchise was offered them for their valour, they elected to make no change in their condition. History is less clear as to the treatment of the citizens of Perusia,* as no light is thrown upon it by any monument of their own, or by any vote of the Romans.

* Perugia.

† Strongoli.
*Fidelity of
Petelia to the
cause of Rome.*

At this same time the people of Petelia,† the only Bruttian community which had been steadfast to its friendship with Rome, were assailed, not only by the Carthaginians, who were in occupation of their country, but also by the other Bruttians, from whose cause they had separated themselves. Being quite unable to hold out against their troubles, they sent envoys to Rome to beg for protection. The entreaties and tears of these men, who had burst into doleful complainings at the doors of the Senate House, where they were told that they must take care of themselves, moved the Senators and the Commons to the deepest commiseration. Again the question was submitted to the Senate by the prætor, Marcus Æmilius, and after an anxious review of the resources of the empire, they were constrained to confess that they had no longer any means of protecting distant allies. They bade them return home; they had done all that loyalty demanded; and they must now face their position, and do the best they could for themselves.

As soon as the result of the embassy was reported at Petelia, such sudden grief and terror overwhelmed their senate, that some proposed flight, each man escaping as he could, and the desertion of their city, while some were for joining the other Bruttians, and through their intervention surrendering to Hannibal. That party, however, prevailed which contended that nothing was to be done hurriedly and rashly, and that they ought

to reconsider the matter. Next day it was discussed with less agitation, and it was decided, through the influence of the aristocracy, that everything was to be removed from the country, and that the city and its walls were to be strengthened for defence. BOOK XXIII.

21. Despatches came to Rome about the same time from Sicily and Sardinia. The despatch from Titus Otacilius, pro-prætor of Sicily, was first read out before the Senate. It stated that Lucius Furius, the prætor, had arrived at Lilybæum * with a fleet from Africa; that he was severely wounded and in the utmost danger of his life; that the troops and seamen had neither pay nor corn from day to day, and that there were no means of furnishing it. He strongly advised them to send such supplies as soon as possible, and if they thought fit, one of the new prætors as successor to himself. *Bad news from Sicily and Sardinia.*

* Marsala.

A despatch to much the same effect as to soldiers' pay and corn was sent by Aulus Cornelius Mammula, pro-prætor of Sardinia. Both he and Otacilius received for answer that there were no means of sending either, and they were bidden to do their best for their fleets and armies. Otacilius having sent envoys to Hiero, the only remaining stay of the Roman people, obtained from him as much money as he required for pay, and corn for six months. Cornelius in Sardinia received liberal contributions from the allied communities. At Rome too, in consequence of the scarcity of money, three finance-commissioners were appointed on the proposal of Marcus Minucius, tribune of the Commons. They were Lucius Æmilius Papius, who had been consul and censor, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had been twice consul, and Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was then tribune of the Commons. Two commissioners were also appointed, Marcus and Caius Atilius, for the dedication of the temple of Concord, which had been vowed by the prætor Lucius Manlius. And there was an election of three pontiffs, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Quintus Fabius Flaccus, into the places of Publius Scantinius, who had died, of Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the consul, and Quintus Ælius Pætus, both of whom had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. *Hiero is still faithful to Rome.*

22. The Senators having, as far as it was possible for human forethought, made up for the losses which fortune had inflicted *Reduced numbers of the Senate.*

BOOK XXIII. on them by a succession of disasters, began at last to look anxiously to themselves, to the solitude of the Senate House, and the scanty numbers of those who met for public business. Indeed, since the consulship of Lucius Æmilius and Caius Flaminius, the list of Senators had not been revised, although during those five years so large a number had been swept off in the reverses of war, not to speak of ordinary casualties to individuals. At the urgent demand of all, the matter was brought forward for discussion by the prætor, Marcus Æmilius, the dictator having at once left Rome for the army after the loss of Casilinum. Spurius Carvilius then in a long speech deplored the paucity, or rather absolute dearth, of citizens out of whom Senators could be chosen, and went on to say that, to fill up the number of the Senate and to bind to themselves more closely the Latin communities, he recommended as a most important step the granting of the franchise to two Senators out of each of these communities, should the Roman Senate approve, and their election into the place of deceased Senators.

*Proposal to elect
Senators out of
the Latin
communities.*

The Senate heard the proposal with as much impatience as they had formerly listened to the demand of the Latins themselves. A murmur of indignation ran through the whole Senate House, Manlius especially exclaiming, "Even now there is a man of that same stock from which sprang that consul in the days of old who threatened to slay with his own hand any Latin whom he saw in the House." Quintus Fabius Maximus replied that, "Never had anything been mentioned in the Senate at a more inappropriate time than this allusion, calculated, as it was, additionally to disturb the minds of the allies, just while their temper was so undecided, and their loyalty was wavering; that this rash speech of a single man ought to be buried in a universal silence; and indeed, if ever there had been in the Senate House a secret so sacred as to require silence, this above all things should be hidden, concealed, forgotten, regarded as unsaid."

It is rejected.

This quashed all further mention of the subject. It was decided to appoint as dictator to revise the senatorian roll a man who had previously been censor, and indeed the oldest of the ex-censors who were living. A vote was also passed to summon the consul Caius Terentius to nominate the dictator.

Terentius hurried back to Rome by forced marches from Apulia, where he left a garrison, and on the following night, as was customary, he named Marcus Fabius Buteo dictator for six months, without a master of the horse, in accordance with the Senate's resolution.

23. Having mounted the rostra with his lictors Fabius said, "I do not approve of there being two dictators at one time, a thing never done before, or of being dictator myself without a master of the horse, or of the censor's authority being centred in one man, in the same man indeed for a second time, or of giving supreme power for six months to a dictator, unless he is appointed to carry on the government. Where any transgression of due limits has been occasioned by fate, circumstances, or necessity, I will myself fix a limit. I will not remove from the Senate any of those whom the censors, Caius Flaminius and Lucius Æmilius, chose into that body; I would merely require the names to be copied and read out, as I do not wish a verdict or decision on a Senator's character to rest with one man. The places of deceased Senators I will so fill up as to show that I am guided by a preference of class to class, not of individual to individual."

After reading out the list of the old Senate, Fabius first chose into the places of deceased members all who subsequently to the censorship of Lucius Æmilius and Caius Flaminius had held the higher curule offices, but had not yet been admitted Senators. He took them in the order of their previous appointments, and then he chose such as had been ædiles, tribunes of the Commons, and quæstors. Next, he made his selection from those who had not indeed held office, but who had the spoils of an enemy set up in their houses, or who had obtained a crown for saving a citizen's life. Having thus added to the Senate a hundred and seventy-seven members, he at once retired from office, and stepped down from the rostra a private citizen, his lictors having had orders to depart. And then he mingled with the groups of citizens who were transacting their private business, purposely thus passing away the time that he might not take them from the forum to escort him home. But notwithstanding this delay, men's interest in him did not die away, and they attended him to his house in crowds. On the following

BOOK XXIII.

A dictator appointed to revise the list of Senators.

Speech of the new dictator.

The dictator's revision of the Senatorian list.

BOOK XXIII. night the consul went back to his army without informing the Senate, that he might not be detained at Rome on account of the elections.

24. Next day the Senate on being consulted by the prætor, Marcus Pomponius, passed a resolution to communicate with the dictator and request that, if he thought it for the public good, he would come to Rome with the master of the horse and the prætor Marcus Marcellus to appoint new consuls. The Senators would then be able to learn from their own lips what was the position of the State and to take measures accordingly. All came who were summoned, leaving behind them officers to command the legions. The dictator after a few modest words about himself claimed most of the glory for Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the master of the horse, and then gave notice of the elections, in which were to be appointed consuls, Lucius Postumius, for a third time in his absence, then holding the province of Gaul, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was master of the horse and curule ædile. The new prætors were Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Mucius Scævola. The dictator, having appointed these magistrates, returned to his army in winter quarters at Teanum,* leaving the master of the horse at Rome, who being about to enter on office, might take the Senate's opinion as to the levy and equipment of armies for the coming year.

* Civitate.

*Tidings of a
disaster in
Gaul to a
Roman army.*

Just when they were most busy with these matters, a fresh disaster was reported, for fate heaped calamity on calamity that year. Lucius Postumius, the consul elect, himself and his army, it was said, had been destroyed in Gaul. He was about to march his troops through a vast forest, which the Gauls called Litana. On its right and left sides, along the Roman route, the Gauls had cut the trees in such a manner that though they would stand, if undisturbed, they must fall at the impulse of a slight blow. Postumius had two Roman legions, and had raised from the coasts of the Upper Sea such a force of allies that he marched into the enemy's country with twenty-five thousand armed men. Having posted themselves on the borders of the forest, the Gauls gave a push to the outermost of the trees which they had undermined, the moment the army

entered the pass. One tree fell on another, itself insecure and barely standing, and arms, men, and horses, were overwhelmed on both sides by the falling mass, so that scarce ten men escaped. Most of them having been killed by the trunks of the trees or by broken boughs, the Gauls who occupied the whole forest in armed force, slaughtered the remainder, whom the unexpected disaster had confounded. Out of that vast host a few only were taken prisoners; these were making for a bridge over a river and were intercepted by the enemy, by whom the bridge had been previously secured. There Postumius fell, fighting with all his might to save himself from capture. The Boii bore in triumph the spoils they had taken from the general's person, and his head, which they had cut off, to a temple reputed the most sacred in their country. Then having after their fashion cleared out the contents of the head, they set the scalp in gold, and it served them as a sacred vessel for libations in their solemn rites. It was also used as a drinking-cup by the priest and by the ministers of the temple. The plunder too taken by the Gauls was as great as their victory. For though most of the beasts were crushed by the downfall of the trees, all else, as nothing was lost in the confusion of flight, was found strewn along the line where the army lay.

25. On the news of this calamity, the citizens were for many days in such alarm that all shops were shut, and a solitude as of night reigned through Rome. The Senate assigned to the ædiles the business of going round the city and ordering the shops to be opened, and the display of public grief to be withdrawn from the streets. Tiberius Sempronius then called a Senate and spoke words of comfort and encouragement to the Senators. "They who had not succumbed under the catastrophe of Cannæ, must not let themselves be cowed by smaller misfortunes. If only matters went prosperously, as regarded the Carthaginian foe and Hannibal, and this he hoped for the future, the war with the Gauls might be safely disregarded and deferred, and the avenging of their disastrous blunder would rest with Heaven and with the Roman people. It was the Carthaginian foe, and the armies with which they must wage the war against him, which ought now to be the subject of their deliberations and discussions."

*Grief and
distress at
Rome.*

*Encouraging
speech of the
consul
Sempronius.*

BOOK XXIII.

*Preparations for
carrying on
the war.*

Sempronius himself first stated in detail what infantry and cavalry, what force of citizens and of allies, composed the dictator's army. Marcellus next fully explained the total amount of his own troops. Inquiry was made of well-informed persons as to the force which the consul, Caius Terentius, had in Apulia. There was no attempt at calculating how consular armies of adequate strength for such a war were to be made up, and it was therefore decided to let Gaul alone for that year, notwithstanding that a just resentment suggested action. The dictator's army was assigned to the consul. As for the army of Marcellus, it was agreed that such of the soldiers as had been in the flight at Cannæ should be transferred to Sicily and serve there, as long as war continued in Italy. Thither also all the feeblest men in the dictator's legions were to be removed without any fixed period of service, except those who had been through the prescribed number of campaigns. The two city legions were given to the consul who should have been elected in the room of Lucius Postumius. It was resolved to appoint him as soon as it could be done without disregard of the auspices. Two legions likewise were to be summoned from Sicily, each at the earliest opportunity, and out of these the consul to whom might fall the command of the city legions was to take as many soldiers as he might require. The consul, Caius Terentius, was to have his powers extended for the ensuing year, and there was to be no reduction in the numbers of the army which he had for the defence of Apulia.

*Operations
in Spain.*

26. During these movements and preparations in Italy, the war in Spain went on as vigorously as ever. Up to this time however, it was favourable to the Romans. Publius and Cneius Scipio had divided their forces, Cneius conducting operations by land, Publius by sea. The Carthaginian general, Hasdrubal, who distrusted his resources in both respects, kept himself far away from the enemy, seeking safety in his distance and in his position, till after long and urgent entreaty a reinforcement of four thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry was sent him from Africa. Thus at last with hopes revived he moved his camp nearer the foe, and personally directed the preparation and equipment of a fleet to defend the islands and the coast. He was busily engaged in carrying out this new movement when

the desertion of his ships'-captains struck him with dismay. He had censured them severely for abandoning his fleet on the Ebro in panic, and since that occasion they had never been really faithful either to their commander or to the interests of Carthage. These deserters had prompted a movement among the tribe of the Tartesii, some of whose towns had at their instigation revolted. One town they had themselves taken by assault. The Carthaginian arms were now turned from the Romans against this tribe, and Hasdrubal having entered the enemy's country with an invading army resolved to attack Chalus, a renowned chief of the Tartesii, who with a strong force was posted in his camp before the walls of the town which a few days previously had been captured. Accordingly he sent on some light troops in advance to lure the enemy into fighting, and scattered some of his infantry throughout the surrounding country, to lay it waste and to intercept stragglers. Thus at one and the same moment the camp was in commotion, and in the country round there was flight and massacre. But after a while, making their way back to the camp from all parts, and by every road, they lost their fears so completely that they had spirit enough not only to defend their lines but even to challenge the enemy to battle. They rushed out of the camp in armed array, dancing in their native fashion, and their sudden daring struck terror into the foe who but just before had been himself the assailant. Hasdrubal upon this marched his troops up a hill of moderate height, further protected by the barrier of a stream, and hither he also withdrew the light-armed detachment sent on in advance and his scattered cavalry. But as he did not trust much either to the hill or to the river, he intrenched his camp. While this mutual fear lasted, several skirmishes took place; in these the Numidian trooper was no match for the Spaniard, or the Moor with his dart for his shield-bearing antagonist, who was as nimble as himself and considerably his superior in resolute courage and enduring strength.

*Hasdrubal
attacks one of
the revolted
tribes of Spain.*

*Critical
position
of Hasdrubal.*

27. Finding that they could not lure the Carthaginians into an engagement by showing themselves before their camp, and that to storm it was not easy, they took by assault the town of Escua, into which Hasdrubal on entering the enemy's territory had conveyed corn and other supplies, and they possessed themselves

BOOK XXIII. of all the surrounding country. By this time, whether on the march or in camp, they were no longer under the restraint of authority. The heedlessness which, as oftens happens, followed on success was observed by Hasdrubal. He urged his men to fall on the enemy, all dispersed and out of their ranks as they were, marched down the hill and advanced on their camp in battle array. News of his near approach was brought by bewildered fugitives from watch-towers and sentry-posts, and there was a general call to arms. Every man snatched up his weapons and rushed instantly into battle, without order or signal or military formation. The foremost were already in action, while others were running up in bands, and others again had not yet quitted their camp. At first, however, their very daring dismayed the enemy. Soon finding that they had charged a dense mass, themselves a mere handful, and that they were far too few to be safe, they looked back, one on another, and, repulsed on every side, formed in square. With limbs in close contact and arms touching, and pressed into a confined space in which they had scarcely room to move their weapons, they were hemmed in by a circle of the enemy and cut down till late in the day. A mere fraction of them made a rush out and fled to the forests and mountains; the camp too was abandoned in the same panic, and the whole tribe the next day surrendered itself.

*He is at last
victorious.*

*He receives
orders from
Carthage
to march into
Italy.*

They did not long, however, remain at peace. Soon afterwards instructions came from Carthage that Hasdrubal at the earliest opportunity was to lead his army into Italy. The news as soon as it spread, turned nearly all men's sympathies through out Spain from Carthage to Rome. Hasdrubal accordingly at once sent a despatch to Carthage, explaining what injury the rumour of his departure had caused. "If he were really to start on his march, Spain would be Roman territory before he crossed the Ebro. For not only had he neither a force nor a general to leave in his place, but the Roman commanders were such, that with equal strength it was barely possible to resist them. So if they had any care for Spain, they must send some one to succeed him with a strong army, and he too, even supposing that all went prosperously, would find the province no light burden."

28. Though this despatch at first made a deep impression on BOOK XXIII.

the Carthaginian senate, still as Italy was first and chief in their thoughts, they would have no change as regarded Hasdrubal and his troops. Himilco was sent with a thoroughly efficient army and a reinforced fleet to hold and secure Spain by land and sea. As soon as he had crossed with his military and naval armament, he fortified a camp, hauled his vessels ashore and surrounded them with intrenchments. With some picked cavalry and at all possible speed, he then made his way to Hasdrubal, equally vigilant, whether the temper of the tribes through which he passed was doubtful or hostile. Having explained the orders and instructions of the senate, and pointed out himself in turn how the war ought to be conducted in Spain, he went back to his camp. His speed more than anything else insured his safety, as he had got quite clear from the country before the people could unite.

Himilco sent to Spain to take the place of Hasdrubal, who prepares to march into Italy.

Hasdrubal did not move his camp till he had exacted contributions in money from all the tribes under his control, for he knew well that Hannibal had in some cases purchased his passage for money, that he had procured his Gallic auxiliaries simply by hiring them, and that had he attempted such a march without any money he would hardly have penetrated as far as the Alps. So he hurriedly called in money-contributions and marched down to the Ebro.

When the Carthaginian orders and the march of Hasdrubal came to the knowledge of the Romans, both the generals at once put everything else aside, united their forces and prepared to oppose and resist the enemy's plans. For they were persuaded that should such a general as Hasdrubal with his Spanish army effect a junction with Hannibal, himself alone a foe against whom Italy could hardly stand, it would be the end of Rome's empire. Harassed by such apprehensions, they drew their armies together on the Ebro. After crossing the river and holding a long consultation whether they should confront the foe or be satisfied with keeping him from his proposed march by attacking Carthaginian allies, they prepared for an attempt on a town named Ibera from the neighbouring river, then the richest in that part of the country. Hasdrubal on being aware of this, instead of giving aid to his allies, proceeded himself

The two Scipios unite their armies,

and prepare to meet Hasdrubal.

BOOK XXIII. to advance to the attack of a town which had lately put itself under Roman protection. So the Romans abandoned the siege already begun, and turned their arms against Hasdrubal himself.

29. For a few days the hostile camps were separated by an interval of five miles, and there were some trifling skirmishes, without, however, any marching out to battle. At last on one and the same day, as though by concert, the signal for action was given on both sides, and with all their forces they advanced into the open plain. The Roman army was drawn up in three lines, part of the light troops being posted in front of the first line and part behind the standards, while the cavalry closed in the wings. Hasdrubal strengthened his centre with Spaniards, placing his Carthaginians on the right wing, his Africans and mercenary auxiliaries on the left. He stationed Numidian troopers close to the Carthaginian infantry before one wing, and the rest of his cavalry near the Africans in front of the other. All his Numidians, however, were not posted on the right wing; only those who, like the circus-riders, were trained to control two horses, and often when the battle was at its hottest, would leap in all their accoutrements from the weary to the fresh steed; such was their activity and so well trained was their breed of horses.

*Hasdrubal is
completely
defeated.*

It was thus that the armies were drawn up; the hopes of the generals on either side were almost equally confident, as neither in numbers nor in the character of the troops was there a decided superiority with either Romans or Carthaginians. The spirit of the soldiery differed widely. The Romans, though they were fighting far away from their country, had easily been convinced by their officers that they were fighting for Italy and Rome. Consequently, as if their return home depended on the issue of the battle, they had resolved in their hearts to conquer or die. Less resolute were the men in the other army. Most of them were Spaniards, who would rather be beaten in Spain than dragged victorious into Italy. And so at the first onset, almost before the javelins had been thrown, the centre retreated, and when the Romans charged them with great impetuosity, turned and fled. The battle was quite as fierce on the wings. On this side the Carthaginian, on that the African, pressed his attack, assailing

in front and rear an enemy almost surrounded. But the Roman army by this time had gathered all its force into its centre, and was sufficiently strong to drive back the enemy's wings. Thus there were two distinct battles, in each of which the Romans, being superior, when once the enemy's centre had been broken, both in numbers and strength, were decisively victorious. A vast multitude fell on the field, and, but for the precipitate flight of the Spaniards almost before the action had begun, there would have been very few survivors out of the entire army. Between the cavalry there was absolutely no fighting, for the Moors and Numidians, as soon as they saw the centre give way, instantly took to headlong flight, leaving the wings exposed, and even driving the elephants before them. Hasdrubal remained on the field till all was over, and then escaped with a handful of men out of the midst of the slaughter. The Romans took and plundered the camp. This battle secured for Rome the allegiance of any waverers in Spain, while it did not leave Hasdrubal the hope of remaining in the country with tolerable safety, much less of marching his army into Italy. All this having been made known at Rome by despatches from the Scipios, there was joy, not so much at the victory as at the hindrance of Hasdrubal's passage into Italy.

*Capture of
Petelia by the
Carthaginians.*

30. During these operations in Spain, Petelia in Bruttium was stormed by Himilco, Hannibal's chief officer, within a few months after the beginning of the siege. The victory cost the Carthaginians much blood and many wounds, and it was the force of hunger more than anything else which conquered the besieged. After having devoured all their corn, and the flesh of every species of quadruped, usual or unusual, they at last prolonged life on hides of leather, on grass and roots and the soft bark of trees, and leaves stripped from bushes. Nor were they finally captured till they wanted strength to stand on the walls and carry their arms. Having thus recovered Petelia, the Carthaginian general marched his army to Consentia.* The place was less obstinately defended, and in a few days he received its submission.

* Cozenza.

About the same time a Bruttian army invested Croton,† a Greek city, once mighty in arms and fighting-men, but then brought so low by a succession of great disasters that less than

† Cotrone.

BOOK XXIII. two thousand citizens of all ages still survived. A city thus empty of defenders fell an easy prey to the enemy. The citadel only was saved, whither amid the confusion of the storming some fled out of the midst of the slaughter. Locri, too, where the populace was betrayed by the leading citizens, revolted to the Bruttians and Carthaginians. Rhegium* alone in that part of the country persisted to the last in its loyalty to Rome and retained its independence. The same inclination to revolt likewise reached Sicily, and even the house of Hiero did not keep itself wholly free from desertion. Gelon, the eldest son of the family, despising alike his father's old age and the alliance of Rome, after the defeat of Cannæ went over to the Carthaginians, and would have disturbed Sicily had he not been carried off, while he was arming the populace and exciting our allies, by a death so timely that it actually threw suspicion on his father.

*Croton
surrenders to a
Bruttian army.*

*Revolt of Locri
from Rome,*

* Reggio.

*and of Gelon,
king Hiero's son.*

*His timely
death.*

*Funeral games
in honour of
Æmilius
Lepidus.*

Such were the events of the year, with their various issues, in Italy, Sicily, and Spain. At its close Quintus Fabius Maximus asked leave of the Senate to dedicate the temple, which, when dictator, he had vowed to Venus of Eryx. The Senate passed a resolution that Tiberius Sempronius, the consul elect, should, as soon as he entered on office, propose to the Commons a vote authorising Quintus Fabius to be one of two commissioners for the purpose of its dedication. In honour also of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had twice been consul and augur, his three sons, Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus, gave in the forum a celebration of funeral games lasting three days, with twenty-two pairs of gladiators. In their capacity of curule ædiles Caius Lætorius and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the consul elect, who during his ædileship had been master of the horse, celebrated the Roman games, the ceremony occupying three days. The plebeian games given by the ædiles Marcus Aurelius Cotta and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were thrice solemnised. When the third year of the Punic war came round, Tiberius Sempronius entered on his office as consul on the first of March. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who had previously been consul and censor, and Marcus Valerius Lævinus, held respectively, as prætors, the home and foreign jurisdiction. The provinces of Sicily and Sardinia fell to Appius Claudius Pulcher and Quintus Mucius

Scævola. The Commons voted to Marcellus all the powers of a consul, as he alone of Roman generals since the disaster of Cannæ had conducted operations successfully in Italy.

*Marcellus
invested with
consular powers.*

31. The Senate the day on which they held their first deliberation in the Capitol, passed a resolution that out of the double tax demanded that year, half should at once be called in, and that from this immediate pay should be furnished to the soldiers, except to those who had served at Cannæ. With respect to the armies, they decided that Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, should appoint a day for the two city legions on which they were to muster at Cales, whence they were to be marched to Claudius's camp on Suessula. The legions at that place, of which the army at Cannæ had mainly consisted, were to be transported under Appius Claudius, the prætor, into Sicily, and those in Sicily were to be conveyed to Rome. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was despatched to the army which on the day appointed was to assemble at Cales, and he received orders to march the city legions to Claudius's camp. Appius Claudius sent Mæcilius Croto, as his lieutenant, to take the command of the old army and to conduct it to Sicily.

*Military
arrangements
for the year.*

Men waited at first in silent expectation for the consul to hold an election for the appointment of his colleague, but when after a while they saw that Marcellus had been purposely, as it were, sent out of the way, the very man whom above all others they wished to be made consul that year for his brilliant achievements when prætor, angry murmurs arose in the Senate House. The consul, on perceiving this, said, "Both measures, Senators, were for the public advantage, the despatch of Marcus Claudius to Campania for an exchange of armies, and the not giving notice of the elections until he had returned after the settlement of the business with which he was intrusted, so that you might have as consul the man demanded by this crisis in public affairs and especially desired by yourselves." Thus nothing was said about the elections till Marcellus returned.

Meanwhile two commissioners were appointed, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Titus Otacilius Crassus, for the dedication, respectively, of the temples of Reason and of Venus of Eryx. Both stood on the Capitol, and were separated only by a water channel. As to the three hundred Campanian knights who after

BOOK XXIII. loyally serving their time in Sicily had come to Rome, a proposal was made to the Commons that they should be Roman citizens, and likewise burghers of Cumæ, reckoning from the day previous to the revolt of the Campanian community from Rome. What chiefly prompted the motion was the assertion of the men themselves, that they did not know to what people they belonged, as they had left their old country and had not yet been duly admitted into that to which they had returned.

*Marcellus
elected consul;*

As soon as Marcellus came back from the army, notice was given of an election for the appointment of one consul in the room of Lucius Postumius. Marcellus was chosen with the utmost unanimity to enter on the office at once, but thunder having been heard at the moment of his assumption of the consulate, the augurs were summoned, and pronounced that there was in their opinion a flaw in his election; and the Senators generally gave out that the appointment, now for the first time, of two plebeian consuls, was not acceptable to the gods. Marcellus having abdicated office, there was elected in his place Fabius Maximus, now consul for the third time.

*he abdicates
office, and is
succeeded by
Fabius
Maximus.
Prodigies.*

That year the sea glowed like fire; at Sinuessa a cow gave birth to a colt; at Lanuvium blood trickled down the statues in the temple of Juno Sospita, and round the temple there was a rain of stones. For the last portent there was the usual nine days' celebration of sacred rites, and the other prodigies were duly expiated.

*Distribution of
the Roman
forces.*

32. The consuls now divided the armies between them. The army at Teanum, which had been under the dictator Marcus Junius, fell to Fabius, Sempronius taking the command of the volunteer slaves at that place, with twenty-five thousand of our allies. To the prætor Marcus Valerius were assigned the legions which had returned from Sicily, and Marcellus was sent with a consul's powers to the army encamped at Suessula for the protection of Nola. The prætors of Sicily and Sardinia started for those provinces. Public notice was given by the consuls that whenever they summoned a meeting of the Senate, the Senators and all who had the privilege of speaking in the House were to assemble at the Capena Gate. Those prætors whose business was the administration of justice held their courts near the public reservoir; here all litigants were directed

to answer to their recognisances, and here law was administered during the year. BOOK XXIII.

Carthage, meanwhile, whence Mago, Hannibal's brother, was on the point of crossing into Italy with twelve thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry, twenty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver, under a convoy of sixty war-ships, received the news of her ill-successes in Spain and of the defection of almost all the tribes in that country to Rome. Some would have Mago with such a fleet and army give up Italy and turn his attention to Spain, when suddenly the hope of recovering Sardinia brightened the prospect. "There was," they were told, "but a small Roman force there; the old prætor, Aulus Cornelius, who knew the province thoroughly, was leaving, and a new governor was expected. Then, too, the hearts of the people were weary of their long subjection; last year the government had been harsh and extortionate. They were crushed by heavy taxes and unfair contributions of corn, and nothing was wanting but a head to lead them in revolt." Such was the report of a secret embassy sent by the chief inhabitants, the scheme having been organised mainly by Hampsicora, who was then by far the first man in influence and wealth. This news coming almost at the same moment, both bewildered and encouraged them. Mago was despatched with his fleet and forces to Spain, and Hasdrubal, to whom they voted an army nearly equal to Mago's, was chosen to take the command in Sardinia.

*Mago despatched
from Carthage
to Spain.*

At Rome the consuls, after transacting all necessary business in the city, at once bestirred themselves for war. Tiberius Sempronius gave his soldiers notice of a day by which they were to assemble at Sinuessæ, and Quintus Fabius, having first consulted the Senate, issued orders that every one was to convey his corn from the fields into fortified towns before the first of June. Whoever failed to do this was to have his estate plundered, his slaves sold by auction, and his farm-buildings burnt. Even the prætors appointed to administer justice were not exempted from military duties. The prætor Valerius, it was decided, was to go to Apulia and succeed to the command of the army of Terentius, and, as soon as the legions from Sicily had arrived, he was to use them for the defence of that district, and send

*Roman
preparations
for war.*

BOOK XXIII. the troops of Terentius to Tarentum* under one of his lieutenant-generals. Twenty-five ships were also given him with which to guard the coast between Brundisium† and Tarentum. The prætor, Quintus Fabius, had an equal number for the defence of the coasts in the neighbourhood of Rome. To the pro-consul, Terentius Varro, was assigned the business of levying troops in Picenum, and of defending that country. Titus Otacilius, after dedicating the temple of Reason on the Capitol, was sent to Sicily with the fullest powers, as admiral of the fleet.

33. All kings and nations were now attentively observing this struggle between the two most powerful peoples of the world. It was so especially with Philip, king of Macedon, because he was comparatively near to Italy, being separated from it only by the Ionian Sea. As soon as he heard by report that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, while rejoicing in the war that had broken out between the Romans and the Carthaginians, his mind wavered as to the nation with which he would prefer that victory should rest, and he saw that their relative strength was yet doubtful. When a third battle had been fought, and victory a third time was with the Carthaginians, he inclined to the side of success, and sent envoys to Hannibal. Avoiding the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum, because they were held by Roman guard-ships, they landed at the temple of Juno Lacinia. Thence they made for Capua, through Apulia, and fell into the midst of the Roman outposts. They were taken to Marcus Valerius Lævinus, the prætor, who had his camp in the neighbourhood of Nuceria. There the head of the embassy, Xenophanes, boldly declared that he had been sent by king Philip to contract friendship and alliance with the Roman people, and that he had communications to make to the consuls and to the Senate and people of Rome. Amid the revolts of old allies, Valerius was overjoyed at a new alliance with so illustrious a prince, and treated these enemies with all the courtesy due to friends. He gave them an escort and guides to show them the roads carefully and tell them what points and what passes were in the occupation of the Romans or of enemies. Xenophanes passed through the Roman posts into Campania, and thence by the nearest route into Hannibal's camp. With him he concluded a treaty and

*Philip of
Macedon sends
an embassy to
Hannibal.*

an alliance on the following terms :—" King Philip, with as large a fleet as possible " (it seemed that he was about to raise two hundred ships) " was to cross into Italy and ravage the coasts ; he was to the best of his power to make war by land and sea. The war over, all Italy with Rome itself was to be the possession of the Carthaginians and Hannibal, and all the spoil was to fall to Hannibal. Italy being thoroughly conquered, they were to sail to Greece and make war on such kings as they pleased. The states on the mainland and the islands lying off Macedonia were to belong to Philip and his kingdom."

BOOK XXIII.

*A treaty of
alliance
concluded
between them.*

34. Such were the general terms of the treaty concluded between the Carthaginian leader and the Macedonian envoys. Gisgo, Bostar, and Mago, who had been sent with them as envoys to obtain the security of the king's own promise, came to the same place, the temple of Juno Lacinia, where a ship was waiting concealed. They had started, and were out at sea, when they were espied by the Roman fleet that guarded the shores of Calabria. Valerius Flaccus having despatched some light vessels to pursue and bring back the ship, the king's agents at first attempted flight, but as soon as they perceived that they were inferior in speed, they gave themselves up to the Romans, and were taken before the admiral of the fleet. He asked them who they were, whence they came, and whither they were going. Xenophanes, who hitherto had been very lucky, began at first to make up a false story, " how Philip had sent him to the Romans, and that he had found his way to Marcus Valerius, that being the only safe road. He had not been able to traverse Campania, as it was beset with the enemy's forces." Before long, the Carthaginian dress and manner of Hannibal's envoys made them suspected, and when they were questioned, their speech betrayed them. Upon this, their companions were taken aside and intimidated, and then a despatch from Hannibal to Philip was also found, with the stipulations between the Macedonian king and the Carthaginian general. When all this was quite clear, it was thought best to convey the prisoners and their company as soon as possible to the Senate or to the consuls, wherever they might be. For this purpose five of the swiftest vessels were picked out, and Lucius Valerius Antias

*Hannibal's
envoys fall into
the hands of the
Romans.*

BOOK XXIII. was sent in command. He had instructions to divide the envoys among all his ships, so as to have them in separate custody, and to take care that there was no conversation or communication of plans among them.

*State of
Sardinia.*

At this same time Cornelius Mammula, on leaving his province of Sardinia, described at Rome the state of affairs in the island. All were thinking, he said, of war and revolt; Quintus Mucius, his successor, had encountered on his arrival an unwholesome condition of the atmosphere and the springs, and having fallen into an illness that was tedious rather than dangerous, would long be unable to sustain the burden of a war. The army, too, though strong enough to garrison a peaceful province, was wholly unequal to the war which seemed on the point of breaking out. It was accordingly decreed by the Senate that Quintus Fulvius Flaccus should raise five thousand infantry with four hundred cavalry, and arrange for the transport of this legion to Sardinia at the earliest opportunity. He was to send with full military powers any one whom he thought fit to conduct operations till Mucius had recovered. Titus Manlius Torquatus, who had been twice consul and censor, and who in his consulship had subdued Corsica, was despatched on this business. About the same time, a fleet sent from Carthage to Sardinia under the command of Hasdrubal, surnamed Calvus, was shattered by a frightful storm and driven on the Balearic Isles. The vessels were hauled ashore, and considerable time was lost while they were being repaired; so severely damaged were their hulls, as well as their rigging.

*Attempts of the
Campanians to
bring Cumæ
under their
power.*

35. While the war in Italy after the battle of Cannæ somewhat languished, as the strength of one side was broken and the energies of the other was relaxed, the Campanians attempted by themselves to annex Cumæ. First they sought to lure the citizens into revolt from Rome. This not succeeding, they devised a stratagem for reducing them. All the Campanians held a sacrifice at regular intervals at Hamæ. They informed the people of Cumæ that the Campanian senate would attend the ceremony, and requested the presence of the Cuman senate for joint deliberation, in order that both communities might have the same allies and the same foes. They

should have, they said, an armed force on the spot, to guard against any danger from Romans or Carthaginians. The citizens of Cumæ, though they suspected mischief, offered no objection, thinking thus to veil a crafty plan of their own. Meanwhile Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, after reviewing his army at Sinuessa, it being there that it was bidden to assemble on the day fixed, crossed the river Volturnus, and encamped near Liternum.* As there was nothing to do in the camp, he compelled his soldiers to sally forth repeatedly in battle array, that the raw recruits, who formed the chief part of the slave volunteers, might be trained to follow the standards and to recognise their ranks in action. Amid all this, it was the general's principal object, and he had instructed his lieutenants and officers to the same effect, to have no taunts flung at any one about his former condition, such as might sow strife among the men. The veteran should allow himself to stand on the same level with the recruit, the free man with the slave, holding all sufficiently worthy and well born to whom the people of Rome had intrusted their arms and standards. The same fortune which had compelled this state of things, compelled them to maintain its existence. Such were the directions of the officers, and they were observed by the soldiers with as much zeal as they were given. And before long the hearts of all had grown together in a union so harmonious that it was almost wholly forgotten what a man's condition in life had been before he became a soldier.

* Tor di Patria.

Gracchus, while thus engaged, was informed by envoys from Cumæ of the nature of the embassy sent a few days before by the Campanians, and of their own reply to it. A three days' festival began from that date, and not only the Campanian senate were to be present, but also their camp and army. After ordering the people of Cumæ to carry all their property from the country into the city, and to keep within their walls, Gracchus himself, on the day before the Campanians were to hold their customary sacrifice, moved his camp to Cumæ, from which Hamæ was distant about three miles. The Campanians had already flocked thither in great numbers, as had been arranged, and not far off, Marius Alfius, the Medixtuticus, that is, the first magistrate in Campania, was secretly encamped with fourteen

BOOK XXIII. thousand armed men, more intent on preparing the sacrifice and the stratagem that was to be executed during the celebration than on fortifying his camp or any military work. For three days the sacrifices went on at Hamæ. The rites were performed at night, but so as to be completed before midnight. This was the moment of which Gracchus resolved to take advantage. He posted sentries at the gates, that no one might be able to disclose his plans, compelled his soldiers to recruit their strength and give themselves to repose up to the tenth hour of the day, that they might be ready to assemble at night-fall, and ordered the advance at the first watch. After marching in still silence, he reached Hamæ at midnight and burst at every gate simultaneously into the Campanian camp, negligently guarded, as was to be expected, during a vigil. Some he slew as they lay stretched in slumber, others as they were returning unarmed from the celebration of the sacred rites. In that night's fray fell more than two thousand men, with the commander himself, Marius Alfius. Thirty-four military standards were taken.

*Gracchus
surprises them
by a sudden
attack, and then
retires to Cumæ.*

36. Gracchus, after having possessed himself of the enemy's camp at a loss of less than a hundred soldiers, quickly withdrew to Cumæ, as he feared danger from Hannibal, who was encamped at Tifata* overlooking Capua. Nor was he misled by his forecast of the future. As soon as news of the disaster reached Capua, Hannibal, who calculated on finding at Hamæ an army chiefly composed of young soldiers and slaves, flushed and insolent with success, plundering the vanquished and carrying off spoil, hurried his men at quick march past Capua, and gave orders that the Campanian fugitives whom he met were to be conducted under escort to Capua and the wounded conveyed in waggons. But he found at Hamæ the camp evacuated by the enemy, nothing but traces of the recent defeat and the bodies of his allies all around him. Some advised him to march at once on Cumæ and attack the place. Though this was what Hannibal very eagerly desired, so that having failed at Naples he might at least possess himself of one maritime town in Cumæ, still, as his troops, marched out as they had been in a hurry, had taken nothing but their arms with them, he retired to his camp on Tifata. The following

* Monte di Maddaloni.

day, at the importunate entreaties of the Campanians, he returned with all appliances for the siege of Cumæ. He completely ravaged the country round it, and then established his camp a mile from the city. Meanwhile Gracchus had halted, more from shame at the thought of deserting in such a crisis allies who were appealing to his good faith and that of the Roman people than because he had much confidence in his troops, while the other consul, Fabius, who had his camp at Cales, did not dare to cross the river Volturnus with his army. At first he was giving his attention to a repetition of the auspices, then to prodigies, which were reported in quick succession. When he sought to expiate them, the augurs persisted in replying that such omens were not easily averted.

BOOK XXIII.

*Hannibal
threatens
Cumæ.*

37. While Fabius was detained by these causes, Gracchus was being blockaded. He was now in fact threatened by siege-works. A wooden tower had been advanced against the town, and to confront it the Roman consul had raised another tower somewhat loftier on the very walls. He used indeed the walls which of themselves were sufficiently lofty, as a foundation, into which he drove strong piles. From this tower the garrison at first defended the city and its fortifications with stones, stakes, and other missiles. At last, when they saw that the tower by being gradually advanced was close to the walls, they flung on it with burning brands a huge mass of fire. Terror-stricken at the flames, the host of armed soldiers threw themselves headlong from the tower, and at that moment there was a simultaneous sally from two gates of the town, which routed the enemy's outposts and drove them into the camp. Thus on that day the Carthaginian was more in the plight of the besieged than of the besieger. As many as thirteen hundred Carthaginians were slain, and fifty-nine taken prisoners. They were caught unawares, as they were keeping guard carelessly and heedlessly near the walls and at their posts, and dreading nothing so little as a sally. Before the enemy could recover from their sudden panic, Gracchus gave the signal of retreat, and withdrew his men within the walls.

*Gracchus
blockaded in
Cumæ.*

*He makes a
successful sally.*

Next day Hannibal, who thought that the consul elated by his success would fight a regular battle, drew up his troops between his camp and the city. Seeing however that not a

*Hannibal
abandons the
siege of Cumæ.*

BOOK XXIII. man stirred from his usual post of defence, and that there was no thought of trusting presumptuous hopes, he returned to Tifata, baffled in his purpose. At the very same time at which the siege of Cumæ was raised, Tiberius Sempronius, surnamed

* Saponara. Longus, fought a successful engagement at Grumentum* in Lucania with the Carthaginian general Hanno. He slew more than two thousand of the enemy, with a loss of two hundred and eighty soldiers, and he captured upwards of forty-one standards. Driven out of Lucanian territory, Hanno retired into Bruttium. Those towns, too, of the Hirpini which had revolted from Rome were forcibly recovered by the prætor, Marcus Valerius. Vercellius and Sicilius, the authors of the revolt, were beheaded. More than a thousand prisoners were sold by auction. The remainder of the booty was given up to the soldiers, and the army marched back to Luceria.

38. During these operations in Lucania and in the country of the Hirpini, the five ships which were conveying the captured Macedonian and Carthaginian envoys to Rome, had sailed round almost the whole coast of Italy from the Upper to the Lower Sea. When they were passing Cumæ, and it was not distinctly known whether they belonged to the enemy or to allies, Gracchus sent vessels from his fleet to meet them. As soon as it had been ascertained by mutual inquiry that the consul was at Cumæ, the ships put into that place, the prisoners were taken to the consul, and their papers were placed in his hands. Having read the letters from Philip and from Hannibal, he sent them all under seal to the Senate by land, directing the envoys to be conveyed by ship. Almost on the same day both letters and envoys reached Rome, and, when upon inquiry, what they said was found to agree with the documents, the first feeling of the Senate was serious alarm when they saw how formidable a war threatened them from Macedonia, barely equal as they were to the burden of the war with Carthage. Yet so far were they from succumbing, that they instantly debated how they might keep off the enemy from Italy by attacking him themselves. They gave orders to put the prisoners in chains, and their attendants they sold by auction, and then decided to get ready twenty vessels to be added to the twenty-five already under the command of Publius Valerius Flaccus. The vessels were equipped

*The envoys of
Philip and
Hannibal are
brought to
Rome.*

and launched, the five which had conveyed the captive envoys added to them, and thus a fleet of thirty ships sailed from Ostia for Tarentum. Instructions were given to Publius Valerius to put on shipboard Varro's troops, which were commanded by Lucius Apustius, the governor of Tarentum, and, besides guarding with a fleet of fifty vessels the shores of Italy, to ascertain something about the war with Macedon. Should Philip's designs correspond with the letters and the disclosures of the envoys, Marcus Valerius, the prætor, was to be informed by a despatch. He was then, after putting his army under the command of his lieutenant, Lucius Apustius, to go to the fleet at Tarentum, cross on the very first opportunity into Macedonia, and use every effort to confine Philip within his kingdom. For the maintenance of the fleet, and for the war with Macedon, the same money was voted which had been sent to Appius Claudius in Sicily to be paid to King Hiero. The money was conveyed to Tarentum through the hands of Lucius Apustius. Hiero at the same time sent two hundred thousand pecks of wheat and a hundred thousand of barley.

39. While the Romans were thus planning and acting, a captured vessel, one of those which had been sent to Rome, escaped back to Philip. It thus became known to him that his envoys and their despatches had been captured. As he knew nothing of the compact which they had arranged with Hannibal or of the message which Hannibal's envoys would have brought him, he sent a second embassy with the same instructions. The envoys he sent to Hannibal were Heracleitus, surnamed Scotinus, Crito of Bœotia, and Sositheus Magnes. They were successful in taking and in bringing back their message, but summer passed away before the king could move or attempt anything. Such was the effect of the capture of a single vessel with the envoys in delaying the war now hanging over the Romans.

Philip sends a second embassy to Hannibal.

In the neighbourhood of Capua where Fabius had crossed the Vulturnus, having at last completed his expiation of the portents, both the consuls were carrying on operations. Comulteria, Trebula,* and Austicula, towns which had revolted to the Carthaginian, were stormed by Fabius, and Hannibal's garrisons with them with a great number of Campanians were made prisoners.

Successful operations of Fabius.

* Treglia.

BOOK XXIII. At Nola, just as in the previous year, the Senate was on the side of the Romans, the commons on that of Hannibal, and secret plots were being hatched to destroy the principal citizens and to betray the town. To hinder the success of these attempts, Fabius marched his army to a position between Capua and Hannibal's camp on Tifata, and established himself on Vesuvius in the camp of Claudius. Thence he despatched the pro-consul, Marcus Marcellus, with the force under his command, to garrison Nola.

40. In Sardinia, too, active operations, which had been dropped when Quintus Mucius, the prætor, was attacked by serious illness, were commenced by Titus Manlius. Manlius hauled his war-ships ashore at Carales, and after arming the crews with the view of carrying on hostilities by land, and receiving command of the prætor's troops, made up his army to twenty thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry. With this force he invaded the enemy's territory, and encamped at no great distance from the camp of Hampsicora. It happened that Hampsicora had then marched into the country of the Pelliti-Sardi to arm their youth and so increase his army. His son, Hostus by name, commanded at the camp. With a young man's confidence he rashly risked an engagement, in which he was beaten and put to the rout, upwards of three thousand of the Sardi being slain in the battle and as many as eight hundred made prisoners. The rest of the army, after wandering in their flight over fields and forests, took refuge at a town named Cornus, the capital of the district, whither, so rumour said, their leader had escaped. This battle would have ended the war in Sardinia, had not the Carthaginian fleet, which had been driven by a storm on the Baliaric isles, arrived under the command of Hasdrubal at the critical moment to awaken hopes of renewing the struggle.

*Roman victory
in Sardinia.*

Manlius on hearing the report of the arrival of the Carthaginian fleet, retired to Carales, and thus an opportunity was given to Hampsicora of joining the Carthaginians. Hasdrubal, having landed his troops and sent the fleet back to Carthage, started with Hampsicora for his guide to plunder the territories of Rome's allies, and he would have reached Carales had not Manlius met him with his army and checked his widely extended

ravages. At first camp confronted camp with but a small space between them, and soon there were sorties and some trifling skirmishes with varying results. At last they went into action and fought a regular engagement at close quarters for four hours. Long did the Carthaginians maintain a doubtful conflict, while the Sardi were, as usual, easily beaten ; but ultimately they themselves, too, seeing the general slaughter and flight of the Sardi around them, were routed. But the moment they turned their backs, the Roman wing, which had defeated the Sardi, wheeled round and hemmed them in. It then became a massacre more than a fight. Twelve thousand of the enemy were slain, of Sardi and of Carthaginians ; about three thousand seven hundred were taken prisoners, with twenty-seven military standards.

41. The battle was rendered specially famous and memorable by the capture of Hasdrubal, the general, and of Hanno and Mago, Carthaginian nobles. Mago was of the Barcine family and was nearly related to Hannibal ; Hanno had headed the rebellion of the Sardi and was unquestionably the author of the war. The fall, too, of the leaders of the Sardi contributed equally to make this a glorious victory. Hampsicora's son Hostus was slain on the field, and Hampsicora, who fled with a few troopers, on hearing of his son's death in addition to the ruin of his fortunes slew himself in the night, when no one could interfere to hinder his purpose. The rest found refuge as before in the town of Cornus. Manlius attacked it with his victorious army and re-took it in a few days. Then other states which had revolted to Hampsicora and the Carthaginians, gave hostages and surrendered. Having required them to furnish tribute and corn according to their respective abilities or past misconduct, Manlius marched his army back to Carales. There he launched his ships of war, and having put on board the troops he had brought with him, he sailed to Rome and announced to the Senate the thorough conquest of Sardinia. The tribute he handed over to the quæstors, the corn to the ædiles, and the prisoners to the prætor Fulvius.

*Reconquest of
Sardinia.*

About the same time the prætor Titus Otacilius crossed from Libyæum to Africa with a fleet of fifty ships. After ravaging the Carthaginian territory he set sail for Sardinia, whither Hasdrubal, as report said, had crossed from the Baliaric

BOOK XXIII. isles, and fell in with his fleet as it was on its return to Africa. A trifling engagement was fought in the open sea, and Otacilius captured seven ships with their crews. As for the rest, panic dispersed them as effectually as a storm would have done. It happened, too, that about the same time Bomilcar arrived at Locri with some troops sent as reinforcements from Carthage, as well as some elephants and supplies. Appius Claudius, with the view of falling on him unawares, rapidly marched his army to Messana under the pretext of making a circuit of the province, and crossed to Locri with a favourable tide. By this time Bomilcar had left to join Hanno in Bruttium, and the Locrians closed their gates against the Romans. Appius after making a great effort without any result returned to Messana. That same summer, Marcellus, who was holding Nola with a garrison, made thence frequent incursions into the territories of the Hirpini and of the Samnites in Caudium. So utterly did he waste the whole country with fire and sword as to revive throughout Samnium the memory of ancient disasters.

Marcellus at Nola.

Envoys from the Hirpini and Samnites to Hannibal.

42. Envoys were therefore instantly despatched by the two peoples simultaneously to Hannibal. These addressed the Carthaginians as follows :—"In early days, Hannibal, we stood alone by our own choice as enemies of Rome, as long as our arms and our strength could defend us. When we lost confidence in them, we allied ourselves with King Pyrrhus. He abandoned us, and then we submitted to an inevitable peace, in which we lived for nearly fifty years, till the time when you entered Italy. You so endeared yourself to us, not so much by your valour and success, as by your marked courtesy and kindness towards our citizens whom you captured and restored to us, that, while you, our friend, were safe and prosperous, we feared, if I may say it without offence, not even the wrath of heaven, far less the Roman people. But now, while you are not only safe and victorious, but actually present among us, so that you might almost hear the wailings of our wives and children, and behold our burning houses, we have suffered, we protest, such repeated devastations this summer that it would seem that Marcellus and not Hannibal was the victor at Cannæ, while the Romans boast that you have strength only for a single blow and are then paralysed, as if you had lost

They remonstrate with him for leaving them unprotected.

“your sting. For almost a hundred years we waged war with Rome, without the aid of any foreign general or army, unless I except those two years with Pyrrhus, though he did not so much defend us with his own strength as reinforce that strength out of our own soldiery. I will not boast of our successes, how we passed under the yoke two consuls and two consular armies, or of other fortunate and glorious incidents in our history. The sufferings and reverses of those days we can speak of with less indignation than those which are now befalling us. Great dictators with masters of the horse, two consuls, each with a consular army, would then invade our territories ; first duly reconnoitring, and posting their reserves, they marched in regular array to ravage the country. But now we are the prey of one prætor and of a single garrison, small even for the defence of Nola. It is not in military detachments but in mere brigand fashion that they scour our lands, more heedlessly than if they were roving over Roman ground. And the cause is this. You do not defend us yourself, and all our youth who, were they at home, would protect us, are serving under your standards. I should not notice you or your army did I not suppose that that which I know has routed and overthrown so many Roman hosts, must find it easy to crush these roving plunderers of our country, who have straggled away from their standards wherever any prospect, however idle, of booty lures this or that man. They surely will be the prey of a handful of Numidians, and you will have sent defence to us and have taken it from Nola, if only you count those whom you thought worthy to have as allies, not unworthy of the protection which you promised them as such.”

43. Hannibal's reply was this : “The Hirpini and Samnites,” so he said, “did everything at once. They told their calamities, asked help, and complained of being unprotected and deserted. They ought first to have told the facts, then to have asked aid ; and last of all if they failed to get it, to have complained that they had implored assistance in vain. He would not march his army into the territory of the Hirpini and Samnites, lest he too might be a burden on them, but into the country of the allies of Rome that lay close at hand. By laying this waste he would both enrich his army and also rid

*Hannibal's
reply.*

BOOK XXIII. "them of the presence of the enemy by terror. As for the war with Rome, if Trasumennus was a more famous battle than Trebia, and Cannæ than Trasumennus, he would soon eclipse the memory even of Cannæ by a greater and more glorious victory."

*He marches
on Nola,*

With this answer and some splendid presents Hannibal dismissed the envoys. Leaving a small force at Tifata he himself began to advance with the rest of his army on Nola. Thither also came Hanno from Bruttium with the reinforcements and elephants from Carthage. Having encamped at no great distance, Hannibal found on inquiry that matters were very different from what he had been told by the envoys of his allies. None in fact of the operations of Marcellus were such that it could be said that he had rashly put himself in the power of fortune or of the enemy. It had been after careful reconnoitring in strong detachments, and with his retreat secured, that he had gone out to plunder. Every care and precaution had been taken, just as if he were fighting against Hannibal in person. When he discovered that the enemy was approaching, he kept his troops within the walls, and ordered the senators of Nola to walk up and down the ramparts and observe all the enemy's proceedings in the neighbourhood. Two of these, Herennius Bassus and Herius Pettius, Hanno, who had gone close to the walls, invited to a conference, and when with the permission of Marcellus they had left the city, he spoke to them through an interpreter. He extolled the valour and success of Hannibal, while he depreciated the waning greatness and strength of the Roman people. "Were these," he said, "what they had once been, still those who knew by experience how oppressive Rome's empire was to her allies and what indulgence Hannibal had shown even towards all his prisoners of Italian race, must prefer the Carthaginian alliance and friendship to the Roman. If both consuls were with their armies at Nola, they would after all be no more a match for Hannibal than they had been at Cannæ. Much less could a single prætor with a few new soldiers defend Nola. Whether Hannibal should possess himself of the place by capture or by surrender, concerned them more than Hannibal. For, indeed, he would possess himself of it, as he had of Capua and Nuceria. But what a

*and sounds the
temper of the
citizens.*

" difference there was between the lot of Capua and that of Nuceria, the citizens of Nola themselves knew, situated as they were, almost half-way between those towns. He had no wish to forecast what would befall the city if taken; he preferred to pledge his word that, if they surrendered Marcellus and his garrison and Nola, no one but themselves would decide the terms on which they would enter into alliance and friendship with Hannibal."

44. To this Herennius Bassus replied: "There has been a friendship of many years between the people of Rome and of Nola, of which hitherto neither has repented. Had we thought that we should change our allegiance when fortune changed, it is now too late so to change it. Had we meant surrender, we should not have summoned Roman aid. As it is, there is a perfect bond of union between us and those who have come to protect us, which will continue to the end."

This conference took from Hannibal all hopes of recovering Nola by surrender. He therefore completely invested the town with a view of a simultaneous attack on its walls from every part. As soon as Marcellus saw that he was close to the ramparts he drew up his troops within one of the gates and burst out with great fury. Not a few were overthrown and slain by this first onset; soon there was a general rush to join the combatants, whose strength being equalised, a terrible fight began, which would have been memorable as few battles have been, had not a violent down-pour of rain with tremendous storms put an end to the conflict. That day, after a partial engagement, they retired in fierce excitement, the Romans to the town, the Carthaginians to their camp. Of the latter, however, there fell in the panic of the first attack not more than thirty, of the Romans, not a man. The rain continued without ceasing throughout the whole night till the third hour of the following day. And so both sides, though eager for battle, kept themselves that day within their intrenchments. Three days afterwards Hannibal sent part of his army on a plundering expedition into the country round Nola. Marcellus, perceiving this, at once led his troops to battle, and Hannibal did not refuse the challenge. There was about a mile between the city and the camp, and within that space (it is all level ground round Nola) the armies met. A shout rose

BOOK XXIII.

*Hannibal
besieges Nola.*

*Action at Nola
without decisive
result.*

BOOK XXIII. from each, and summoned back to the battle now begun the nearest soldiers from the cohorts which had gone out into the fields for plunder. And the citizens of Nola swelled the Roman ranks, and they were warmly praised by Marcellus, who ordered them to stand with the reserves and carry the wounded off the field, but keep out of action, unless he gave them the signal to engage.

45. The battle was undecided, the generals cheering on their men, fighting to the utmost of their strength. Marcellus bade them press hard an enemy who had been beaten three days previously, had been driven in flight a few days ago from Cumæ, and under his own leadership, though by other troops, had been repulsed last year from Nola. "His whole army," he said, "was not on the field; some were roving for plunder throughout the country. Even those who were engaged, were enervated by the luxury of Campania, by wine and women, and had worn themselves out by every debauchery during a whole winter. Their old strength and vigour were gone; the endurance of the frames and hearts which had surmounted the heights of the Pyrenees and of the Alps, had melted away. The present combatants were but the remnant of those brave men and could scarce bear the burden of their arms or limbs. Capua had been Hannibal's Cannæ; there had perished warlike valour, military discipline, all glory of the past, all hope for the future."

While Marcellus was rousing the courage of his soldiers by these taunts against the enemy, Hannibal was upbraiding his men with much harsher reproaches. "I recognise," he said, "the same arms and standards which I saw and with which I fought at Trebia, Trasumennus, and last of all, at Cannæ. But I protest that I marched into winter-quarters at Capua with one army and marched out of it with another. Are you, whose attack two consular armies never once sustained, barely a match for a Roman lieutenant and the onset of a single legion and one division of allies? Is Marcellus with his raw recruits and his reserves of Nolan townsfolk now again challenging us with impunity? Where is that soldier of mine who dragged the consul Flaminius from his horse and struck off his head? Where is the man who cut down Lucius Paullus at

“Cannæ? Are their swords now blunt ; are their right hands
 “paralysed? Or what other miracle explains it? Once few in
 “number, you used to vanquish a superior host ; now yourselves
 “superior you barely resist a few. Brave in tongue, you boasted
 “that you would storm Rome, were you to be led thither. See
 “before you a less formidable enterprise. Here I wish to test
 “your strength and valour. Storm Nola, a city in a plain, with-
 “out defence of river or sea. When you have laden yourselves
 “with the booty and the spoils of so rich a town, I will either
 “lead you or follow you whither you please.”

46. Neither words of encouragement nor reproach availed to put resolution into their hearts. At every point they were driven back, while the courage of the Romans rose, cheered on as they were, not only by their general but by the people of Nola, who with shouts, which testified to their good-will, roused yet more the enthusiasm of battle. The Carthaginians turned and were driven into their camp, but though the Roman soldiers were eager to storm it, Marcellus led them back to Nola amid great joy, and congratulations even from the populace, which had previously inclined towards Carthage. More than five thousand of the enemy were slain that day, six hundred taken alive with nineteen military standards and two elephants. Of the Romans less than a thousand fell. The next day was spent in an armistice by tacit consent, both sides burying their slain in the battle. The spoils taken from the enemy Marcellus burnt as a vow to Vulcan.

*Hannibal
 repulsed before
 Nola.*

Two days afterwards, prompted, I imagine, by some resentment, or by the hope of a more liberally rewarded warfare, two hundred and seventy-two troopers, Numidians and Spaniards intermixed, deserted to Marcellus. Of their brave and faithful services the Romans often availed themselves during this war. When it was over, the Spaniards had lands given them in Spain, the Numidians in Africa, in recompense of their valour.

Hannibal sent back Hanno from Nola to Bruttium with the forces which he had brought with him, and went himself into winter-quarters in Apulia, encamping near Arpi. Quintus Fabius, on hearing that he had marched into Apulia, collected grain from Nola and Naples and stored it in the

BOOK XXIII. camp on Suessula. Having then strengthened his lines and left a force sufficient to defend his position throughout the winter, he moved his camp nearer Capua, and wasted the territory of the Campanians with fire and sword. At last the Campanians, though they had absolutely no confidence in their strength, were compelled to sally out from the city-gates and establish a camp upon ground in front of their town. They had in all six thousand soldiers, the infantry utterly inefficient, but the horse of good quality. Accordingly they kept harassing the enemy by cavalry skirmishes. Among their many distinguished troopers was one, Cerrinus Vibellius, surnamed Taurea. He was too a citizen of Capua, and he was far the bravest horse-soldier in all Campania. Indeed, when he served with the Romans, there was but one Roman, Claudius Asellus who rivalled him in renown as a trooper. Taurea rode up to the enemy's squadrons and took a long survey of them. When at length there was a hush, he asked: "Where is Claudius Asellus? He used to dispute with me in words the palm of valour; why should he not decide the matter by the sword, yielding up the prize of victory if he is beaten, and taking it if he is victorious?"

*Duel between a
Roman and
Campanian
trooper.*

47. This message having been delivered to Asellus in the camp, he merely waited awhile to ask the consuls whether he was at liberty, contrary to regulations, to fight an enemy who challenged him. On obtaining leave, he at once armed himself, rode out in front of the sentries and called Taurea by name bidding him to an encounter wherever he pleased. By this time the Romans had poured out in multitudes, to witness the combat, and the Campanians too were crowding the entrenchments of their camp and even their city-walls, to look on at a distance. The combatants, who had already given notoriety to the affair by their speeches of defiance, now galloped their horses at full speed, with spears in rest. There was abundance of room, and they amused themselves by spinning out a bloodless duel. At last the Campanian said to the Roman, "This will be a contest between horses, not between horsemen, unless we gallop our steeds down from the open into this hollow lane, where, as there is no space for manœuvring, we may fight at close quarters." Almost before he had said the word Claudius

had plunged with his horse into the lane. Taurea, bolder in speech than in deed, retorted on him, "I would not be an ass in a ditch." The saying subsequently passed into a rustic proverb. Claudius rode along the lane to a great distance, and meeting no enemy returned to the open ground. He then went back victorious to his camp amid great rejoicing and congratulation, denouncing the cowardice of his foe. To this fight of the two cavalry soldiers is added in some chronicles an incident certainly extraordinary, the truth of which it is for common sense to decide. Claudius, it is said, who followed up Taurea in his flight to the town, rushed in at one of the enemy's gates which was open, and rode out unhurt by another amid the helpless wonderment of the foe.

48. The camp was now quiet, and the consul even shifted his position some way back, that the Campanians might begin their sowing. Nor did he do any injury to their lands until the corn was high enough in blade to yield fodder. Then he carried it to Claudius's camp on Suessula, and there established his winter quarters. He ordered Marcellus, the pro-consul, to retain a sufficient force at Nola for the defence of the place, and sent away the rest of his troops to Rome, that they might not be a burden to the allies and an expense to the State. And Gracchus, having marched his legions from Cumæ to Luceria in Apulia, despatched the prætor, Marcus Valerius, with the army he had had at Luceria, to Brundisium, with instructions to guard the shores of the Sallentine territory and take precautions in regard to Philip and the war with Macedon.

Fabius in winter quarters at Suessula.

Gracchus at Brundisium to guard the coast.

At the end of the summer in which occurred the operations we have described, came despatches from Publius and Cneius Scipio, telling what great successes they had achieved in Spain, but also stating that money was wanting for the soldiers' pay, and clothing and corn for the troops, and that the seamen were quite destitute. As for the pay, if the treasury were empty, they could themselves devise some plan of getting it from the Spaniards, but they must certainly raise all the other supplies from Rome, that being the only possible way of retaining either the troops or the province. When the despatch had been read, every one admitted the truth of the statements and the justice of the request; still the thought presented itself of the vast

Tidings from Spain.

Despatch from the Scipios.

BOOK XXIII.

*Financial
embarrassments
of the Romans.*

forces which they would have to maintain by sea and land and of the immense new fleet soon to be equipped, should war break out with Macedon. Sicily and Sardinia, which had paid tribute before the war, could hardly support the armies which guarded these provinces, and the expenses were furnished out of a citizens' tax. Not only had the number of the contributors of this tax been materially diminished by those murderous defeats of our armies at Trasumennus and Cannæ, but even the few survivors, were they to be burdened with an increased payment, would perish by another destruction. Consequently unless the State could be upheld by credit, it would not be upheld by its resources. The prætor Fulvius, it was said, must show himself in an assembly of the people and point out to them the public necessities, and invite those who had improved their properties by taking contracts to lend money for a time to the State, from which they had enriched themselves, and arrange to furnish the army in Spain with all that it needed, on the condition that, as soon as there was money in the treasury, they should first be paid. Such was the prætor's proclamation to the people, and he named a day on which he would issue contracts for the supply of clothing and corn to the army in Spain and of whatever else was necessary for the seamen.

*Public spirit
of the citizens.*

49. As soon as the day arrived, three companies, each of nineteen members, came forward to take the contracts. They made two demands. One was exemption from military service while they were engaged on this public business ; another was, that, for whatever they put on shipboard they were to be insured at the risks of the State against storms or attacks of the enemy. Both demands being granted, they took the contracts, and the administration of the State was carried on with private money. Such principles and such patriotism pervaded every class, almost without exception.

As all the contracts were taken with hearty good-will, so they were performed with the most scrupulous fidelity, and the armies supplied just as they would have been from the overflowing exchequer of former days. When the supplies arrived, the town of Iliturgi was being besieged by Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar, son of Bomilcar, because it had revolted to Rome. Between these three hostile camps the Scipios made their way

into the city of our allies after hard fighting and great slaughter of the opposing army, and brought with them corn of which there was an extreme scarcity. Then after encouraging the townsfolk to defend their walls with the same spirit with which they had seen the Roman army fight on their behalf, they marched off to attack the principal camp which was under the command of Hasdrubal. The two other Carthaginian generals and their armies hastened to the spot, seeing it was to be the scene of the decisive struggle. There was a sally out of the camp, followed by a battle, and that day sixty thousand of the enemy and sixteen thousand Romans were engaged. So far, however, was the victory from being doubtful that the Romans slew of the enemy a number exceeding their own, taking more than three thousand prisoners, a little under a thousand horses with fifty-nine standards, and killing five elephants in the battle. On that day they captured three camps. The siege of Iliturgi having thus been raised, the Carthaginian armies were marched away to attack Intibili, their losses having been made up out of the province, one indeed which above all others was fond of fighting, if only plunder or pay were to be got, and in which young men abounded. Again a pitched battle was fought, the same fortune attending both sides. More than thirteen thousand of the enemy fell and more than two thousand were taken prisoners, with forty-two standards and nine elephants. And now indeed all the Spanish tribes revolted to Rome, and far greater results were achieved that year in Spain than in Italy.

BOOK XXIII.

Iliturgia, in Spain, besieged by the Carthaginians, who are defeated and compelled to raise the siege.

BOOK XXIV.

B.C. 215-213.

BOOK XXIV

*Carthaginian
operations in
Bruttium.*

I. ON his return from Campania to Bruttium, Hanno, with Bruttian help and guidance, sought to seize the Greek towns. These remained loyal to the Roman alliance all the more willingly because they saw that the Bruttians, whom they both hated and feared, were now on the side of the Carthaginians. Rhegium was first attempted, and several days were spent there without result. Meanwhile the people of Locri were hurriedly carrying from their fields into the city their corn, wood, and other necessities, anxious at the same time that not a scrap of plunder might be left for the enemy. Every day a larger crowd poured out of the city-gates, till at last there were left in the town only those who were pressed into the service of repairing the walls and gates and carrying weapons to the ramparts. Against this promiscuous multitude of all ages and ranks, as it straggled, mostly unarmed, over the fields, the Carthaginian, Hamilcar, sent out his cavalry, with orders to hurt nobody, but simply to scatter them in flight and then intercept them with his troopers, so as to cut them off from the city. The general himself, taking up a position on high ground from which he could see the neighbouring cavalry as well as the town, directed a Bruttian cohort to advance up to the walls, summon the principal Locrian citizens to a conference, and, should they promise friendship, to Hannibal, they were to encourage them to surrender the city. As for the Bruttians in this conference, the Locrians believed at first nothing that they said, but when the Carthaginians showed themselves on the

hills, and a few fugitives brought the news that all the rest of the population was at the enemy's mercy, they were overwhelmed with terror, and replied that they would consult the popular assembly. Instantly a meeting was summoned. All the meaner sort were for a new government and a new alliance, and those whose kinsfolk had been intercepted by the enemy outside the walls felt themselves as much pledged as if they had given hostages. A few, indeed, in their hearts approved a steadfast loyalty, but they had not the courage to maintain it. And so, with an apparently unhesitating assent, surrender was made to the Carthaginians. Lucius Atilius, commander of the garrison, and the Roman soldiers under him, were secretly taken down to the port and put on shipboard to be conveyed to Rhegium, and then they admitted Hamilcar and the Carthaginians into the town, on condition that a treaty was to be at once concluded on equitable terms. Faith in the matter was all but broken with the party making the surrender, as the Carthaginians complained that they had treacherously let the Romans depart, while the Locrians pleaded that they had themselves escaped. Some cavalry went in pursuit, in case the tide in the straits might possibly delay the vessels or carry them back to land. Those indeed whom they pursued, they failed to overtake, but they saw some other ships crossing the straits from Messina to Rhegium. These carried Roman soldiers whom Claudius, the prætor, had despatched to garrison the city. So the Carthaginians at once withdrew from Rhegium. By Hannibal's orders peace was granted to the Locrians. They were to live independent, under their own laws; their city was to be open to the Carthaginians, but its port was to be under Locrian control; there was to be an alliance with the understanding that Carthaginians and Locrians were to help each other both in peace and war.

BOOK XXIV.

*Surrender of
Locri to the
Carthaginians.*

2. Thus the Carthaginians returned from the straits, amid angry complaints from the Bruttians at their having left Rhegium and Locri unmolested. The plunder of these cities the Bruttians had fully counted on for themselves. So on their own account they levied and equipped fifteen thousand of their own youth and marched to attack Croton, also a Greek city on the coast. They would secure, they thought, a vast accession to their resources by possessing themselves of a town on the sea, with a

*The Bruttians
attack Croton*

BOOK XXIV. harbour and strong fortifications. But, as they could not quite venture to summon the Carthaginians to their aid, they were harassed by the apprehension that they might seem to be attempting something not for the benefit of their allies. And again, should the Carthaginian any more be the negotiator of a peace rather than their helper in war, an attack on the independence of Croton would, they feared, be as useless as had previously been the attack on Locri. Hence they thought it best to send envoys to Hannibal and obtain from him a guarantee that Croton, when reconquered, should belong to the Bruttians.

Hannibal replied that the question was one for those on the spot, and he referred them to Hanno. From Hanno no definite answer was received. It was not indeed the wish of the Carthaginians to see a famous and wealthy city plundered, and they hoped that, when the Bruttians attacked it, as it was evident that they neither approved nor aided the attack, its citizens would revolt to them the sooner.

Among the people of Croton there was no unity of policy or of feeling. One and the same disease, so to say, had fastened on all the Italian states, strife between the commons and the aristocracy, the senate favouring Rome, while the commons were for throwing themselves into the hands of the Carthaginians. Of this dissension in the city the Bruttians were informed by a deserter. One, Aristomachus, he said, was the popular leader and advised surrender. In so vast a city, with wide and scattered fortifications, the sentries and guards of the senators were but few, and wherever men of the popular party were on duty, there was free entrance. Under the advice and leading of the deserter, the Bruttians regularly invested the town. At the first assault, they were admitted by the commons, and secured every part except the citadel. This was held by the aristocracy, who had already prepared it as a place of refuge against such a contingency. Thither also Aristomachus fled, representing that he had advised the surrender of the town to the Carthaginians and not to the Bruttians.

They take the city, all but the citadel.

Description of Croton.

3. Before Pyrrhus's invasion of Italy the city of Croton had a wall of twelve miles circuit. After the desolation caused by that war barely half the space was inhabited. The river whose waters had flowed through the middle of the town, now flowed outside the district occupied by houses, and the citadel

was at a distance from the inhabited part. Six miles from the city was a famous temple, more famous indeed than the city itself, dedicated to Juno Lacinia and revered by all the neighbouring peoples. There, in the middle of a grove, densely grown and closed in by stately fir-trees, were rich pastures, where cattle of all kinds, sacred to the goddess, fed without a shepherd. The various flocks went forth separately and returned at night to their stalls, never harmed by the stealthy attacks of wild beasts or the craft of man. Hence great profits were derived from the cattle, and out of them was made and dedicated a pillar of solid gold. The temple too became renowned for its wealth as well as for its sanctity. Miracles are commonly attributed to such famous spots. There is a story of an altar at the porch of the temple, the ashes of which are never disturbed by any breeze.

The citadel of Croton, which on one side overhung the sea, while on the other it faced landwards, was in old days protected merely by its natural situation, but subsequently it was likewise surrounded by a wall at the part where, from the rocks behind, Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, had once taken it by stratagem. This fortress, safe enough, as was thought, was now held by the Crotoniat aristocracy, whom their own people along with the Bruttians were beleaguering. At last the Bruttians, seeing that it was impregnable to their attacks, out of sheer necessity implored the aid of Hanno. He endeavoured to force the Crotoniats to a surrender, stipulating that they would allow the admission of a Bruttian colony, and so recover its ancient populousness for a city which wars had wasted and desolated. But on not one of the citizens, except Aristomachus, had he any effect. They declared they would perish sooner than be confounded with Bruttians and have to accept strange ceremonies, customs and laws, and ultimately even a strange language. Aristomachus himself alone deserted to Hanno, finding that his arguments could not induce his companions to surrender, and that he could not get a chance of betraying the citadel, as he had betrayed the town. Soon afterwards some Locrian envoys, having with Hanno's permission entered the citadel, urged the occupants to let themselves be transferred to Locri instead of resolving to face the last extremity. They had previously obtained leave to

BOOK XXIV. make the offer from Hannibal, to whom they had despatched an embassy. Thus Croton was abandoned, and the inhabitants were marched down to the sea and put on shipboard. The entire population took their departure to Locri.

*The inhabitants
of Croton settle
at Locri.*

In Apulia even the winter did not pass quietly between the Romans and Hannibal. The consul Sempronius wintered at Luceria, Hannibal not far from Arpi. Some slight skirmishes occurred between them, as occasion offered, or as this or that side saw an opportunity. In these the Romans improved daily, becoming more cautious and less in danger from stratagem.

*Hieronymus
succeeds Hiero
in Sicily.*

4. In Sicily Hiero's death had made a complete change for the Romans. The throne had passed to Hieronymus his grandson, a boy little likely to bear liberty much less absolute power, with moderation. Eagerly did guardians and friends lay hold of such a temper, to hurry it into every excess. Hiero, it is said, foreseeing that this would be so in the future, wished in his extreme old age to leave Syracuse free, and not to let a kingdom, which had been won and consolidated by merit, be ruined by the ridiculous follies of a youthful despot. But his purpose met with the most determined resistance from his daughters, who thought that while the boy would have the name of king, the control of everything would rest with themselves and their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, whom Hiero intended to leave his principal guardians. It was not easy for a man in his ninetieth year, who was plied day and night by women's flatteries, to exercise his mind freely and make private matters subordinate to public considerations. And so he left the boy fifteen guardians, and implored them on his death-bed to maintain inviolate that loyalty which for fifty years he had himself observed towards the people of Rome, and to resolve that the lad should, above all things, tread in his footsteps and follow the ways in which he had been trained.

Such were Hiero's instructions. As soon as he had breathed his last, his will was produced by the guardians, and the boy, then about fifteen years, was set before a public assembly, where a few, placed here and there to lead cheers of applause, expressed approval of the document, while the rest, as if they had lost a father and their country was orphaned, saw terror everywhere. Meantime the king's funeral was celebrated

with more love and affection on the part of the citizens than regard from his own kin. Then the other guardians were put aside by Andranodorus, who kept repeating that Hieronymus was now a young man and capable of reigning. By himself abdicating the guardianship which he shared with several others, he concentrated in his own person the influence of all.

5. Even a good and self-controlled prince would not have easily found favour with the Syracusans, had he come after the extreme popularity of Hiero. As a fact, however, Hieronymus apparently wished to deepen their regret for his grandfather by his own vices, and at his very first appearance let them see how different everything was. Those who for so many years had never seen Hiero and his son Gelon distinguished by dress or any other outward badge from the other citizens, now beheld a purple robe, a diadem and an armed bodyguard, and even occasionally saw the king issue from his palace with carriages drawn by four white horses, after the fashion of the tyrant Dionysius. This haughty state and style was accompanied by a corresponding contempt for all men, by ears contemptuously deaf to entreaty and an insulting tongue, by denial of access, not only to strangers but also to his guardians, by monstrous lusts and by an inhuman cruelty. Consequently there was such universal terror that some of the guardians forestalled the horrors of execution by suicide or flight. Three of them, who alone could enter the palace with some familiarity, Andranodorus and Zoippus, Hiero's sons-in-law, and a certain Thraso, commanded indeed not much attention on other matters, but, as the two first inclined to Carthage, while Thraso was for alliance with Rome, they now and then by their quarrels and party-strife attracted to themselves the notice of the young prince. Meanwhile a conspiracy directed against the tyrant's life was disclosed by a soldier's servant, a lad of the same age as Hieronymus and accustomed from boyhood to all the privileges of familiarity.

The informer could name only one of the conspirators, Theodotus, by whom he had himself been solicited. The man was instantly arrested and delivered up to Andranodorus to be tortured, but though he unhesitatingly confessed about himself, he was silent about his accomplices. At last, when torn by very torture too dreadful for human endurance, pretending

BOOK XXIV.

*Character of
Hieronymus.*

*Conspiracy
against him.*

BOOK XXIV. that he was conquered by his sufferings, he aimed his disclosure not at the really guilty, but at the innocent, falsely asserting that Thraso was the author of the plot, and that they never would have dared such an attempt but for their reliance on so powerful a leader. He named, too, men continually at the tyrant's side, men who occurred to him as the cheapest victims, while amid his anguish and groans he was concocting his story. Thraso's name rendered the disclosure particularly probable to the tyrant's mind. He was therefore at once given up to punishment, and in his penalty were included the rest, all as innocent as he. Of his accomplices not a single man hid himself or fled, all the time that their partner in the plot was being tortured; such was their confidence in the honour and fidelity of Theodotus, and such Theodotus' own resolution in keeping his secret.

6. The sole tie of friendship with Rome was gone now that Thraso was out of the way, and there was at once a decided tendency to revolt. Envoys were despatched to Hannibal, and he sent back along with a nobly-born youth, Hannibal by name, Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, who while originally descended from a grandfather exiled from Syracuse, were on the mother's side Carthaginians. Through them an alliance was formed between Hannibal and the Syracusan tyrant, with whom they stayed, with Hannibal's consent. Appius Claudius, the prætor, who had the province of Sicily, on hearing this, at once sent envoys to Hieronymus. The envoys said they came to renew the alliance which had existed with his grandfather, but they were heard and dismissed with ridicule, Hieronymus asking them in jest, how they had fared in the battle of Cannæ. "He could hardly believe," he said, "the story of Hannibal's envoys, and he wished to know "the truth, that he might make his plans accordingly, as to "whose prospects he should attach himself." The Romans told him that they would come back, when he began to listen seriously to such communications, and warning rather than begging him not to break faith with them lightly, took their departure.

*Alliance between
Hieronymus
and Hannibal.*

Hieronymus now sent an embassy to Carthage to conclude a treaty based on his alliance with Hannibal. It was stipulated

that, when they had driven the Romans out of Sicily, which would soon be accomplished by sending a fleet and an army, the river Himera, which about divides the island, should be the boundary between the Syracusan and Carthaginian dominions. Hieronymus, puffed up by the flatteries of the people, who bade him remember not only Hiero, but likewise king Pyrrhus, his maternal grandfather, soon afterwards sent a second embassy, to express his opinion that in fairness all Sicily ought to be ceded to him, while the empire of Italy might be claimed as a right by the Carthaginians. This fickleness and boastful temper in a headstrong boy excited no suspicion and called forth no censure from the Carthaginians, who cared only to detach him from the Romans.

BOOK XXIV.

*Hieronimus
concludes a
treaty with
Carthage.*

7. Everything, however, with him was tending to a swift destruction. He had sent forward Hippocrates and Epicydes with two thousand armed men each, to make attempts on the towns held by Roman garrisons, while he himself with the rest of his army, consisting of about fifteen thousand infantry and cavalry, had started for Leontini. The conspirators, all of whom happened to be soldiers, took possession of an empty house, overlooking a narrow street along which the king used to go to the forum. There all but one man stood ready armed, awaiting his passage, and to that man (Dinomenes was his name), as he was in the body-guard, was assigned the part of detaining on some pretext the rear of the procession, the moment the king approached the door of the house. All was done as had been arranged. Dinomenes, pretending to disentangle his foot from a knot fastened round it, stopped the throng, and caused such a gap in it that the king, attacked as he passed, without any armed attendants, was stabbed with several wounds before succour could arrive. Shouts and uproar reached the ears of the others, and a shower of darts was discharged at Dinomenes, who, it was now clearly seen, was stopping the way. Yet he escaped them with but two wounds. The flight of the body-guard followed the instant they saw the king prostrate. Some of the assassins hurried to the forum, and found a people overjoyed at their freedom; some went to Syracuse, to forestall the designs of Andranodorus and the other royal ministers.

*He is
assassinated.*

In this critical state of affairs, Appius Claudius, seeing

BOOK XXIV. war starting up at his doors, informed the Senate by letter that Sicily was attaching itself to the Carthaginians and to Hannibal. He himself, to check the Syracusan plans, concentrated all his garrison forces on the boundary-line between the Roman province and the king's territory. At the year's close Quintus Fabius, by the authority of the Senate, fortified and garrisoned Puteoli,* which during the war had begun to be used largely as a market. Then he went to Rome for the elections, of which he gave notice by proclamation for the first election-day he could fix. He went straight from his journey past the city into the Campus Martius. That day the first voting fell to the lot of the junior century of the tribe of Anio, and this nominated to the consulate Titus Cnecilius and Marcus Æmilius Regillus. Thereupon Quintus Fabius, as soon as there was silence, made the following speech:—

*Speech of Fabius
on the occasion.*

8. "If we had peace in Italy, or war with an enemy who allowed somewhat wide room for carelessness, he who should put any obstacle in the way of your partialities when you go to the poll to confer office on whom you choose, would in my opinion be quite unmindful of your freedom. When, however, we know that in this war, with this enemy, no general has ever blundered without terrible disaster to us, you ought to begin your voting for the election of consuls with as much care as you go armed to the battle-field. Every one should say to himself: 'I nominate a consul who is a match for Hannibal.' This year at Capua, Vibellius Taurea of Campania, a knight of the first rank, challenged us, and he was met by a Roman knight of the first rank, Asellus Claudius. Against a Gaul who in old days challenged us on the bridge over the Anio† our fathers sent Titus Manlius, in the pride of his strength and courage. It was for the same reason, not many years afterwards, I must maintain, that you had no distrust of Marcus Valerius, when he armed himself for the combat against a Gaul who challenged us in like fashion. As we desire to have infantry and cavalry superior to the enemy, or at least his match, so let us look out a commander-in-chief who is a match for the enemy's general. Even when we have chosen the first general in our state, a man hastily selected and appointed for a year will be pitted against a veteran officer always in

† Teverone.

“command, who has none of the restraints of either time or law to hinder him from doing and directing everything just as the exigencies of war require. With us, on the other hand, the year closes in the midst of our preparations, and when we are only beginning our work. BOOK XXIV.

“I have said enough to show what sort of men you ought to appoint consuls. It remains for me to say a few words about those in whose favour the first vote has been given. Marcus Æmilius Regillus is the priest of Quirinus, and we cannot let him leave his sacred duties or keep him at home without neglecting either what is due to the gods or what is due to the war. Otacilius is the husband of my sister's daughter, by whom he has children. Still, what you have done for me and my forefathers is such that I must hold the public interest dearer than my private connections. Any sailor or passenger can steer a ship in a calm sea, but when a furious tempest has burst forth and the ship is hurried along by the gale through troubled waters, then there is need of a good man and a pilot. We are now sailing over a tranquil sea, but have already been all but sunk by several storms, and therefore you ought with the utmost care to consider and take thought, who is to sit at the helm.

“We have tried you, Otacilius, in a comparatively small matter. You have certainly given us no proof why we should trust you in a greater. This year we equipped a fleet which you commanded, with three objects. It was to ravage the coast of Africa; to protect for us the shores of Italy; above all, it was to hinder the transport of reinforcements with money and supplies for Hannibal. Appoint Otacilius consul, if he has rendered, I do not say all, but some one of these services to his country. If, while you commanded the fleet, any help from home reached Hannibal safe and entire, just as if there was peace at sea; if, again, the coast of Italy has been this year more dangerous than that of Africa, what can you say for pitting you, above all men, as our general, against Hannibal? If you were consul, we should think it necessary to nominate a dictator after the example of our fathers. Nor could you feel angry at some one of our Roman citizens being esteemed superior in war to yourself. It is no man's interest more than

BOOK XXIV. "your own, Otacilius, that a burden should not be laid on your shoulders which would crush you. I most decidedly advise you, fellow citizens, that in the very same spirit in which, were you standing armed for battle, you would choose two commanders, under whose leadership and guidance you would wish to fight, so you should choose your consuls to-day ; men to whom your children are to swear the oath, at whose bidding they are to muster, under whose eye and direction they are to serve. The lake of Trasumennus and the field of Cannæ are melancholy examples to recall, but they are also a salutary warning to beware of like disaster. Herald, summon back to the poll the juniors of the tribe of Anio."

*Fabius
Maximus and
Marcellus
re-elected
consuls.*

9. As Titus Otacilius meanwhile kept furiously exclaiming and roaring out at Fabius that he wanted his consulship prolonged, the consul ordered the lictors to step up to him. Having gone straight from his journey to the Campus Martius, he had not entered the city, and so he reminded Otacilius that the rods and axes were still carried before him. Again the first century went to the poll, and bestowed the consulship on Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fourth and on Marcus Marcellus for the third time. The rest of the centuries, without a difference, nominated the same men. One prætor too was re-elected, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. Among the others were appointed Titus Otacilius Crassus for the second time, Quintus Fabius, the consul's son, at the time curule ædile, and Publius Cornelius Lentulus. As soon as the elections for prætors were over, the Senate passed a resolution assigning the city jurisdiction with extraordinary powers to Quintus Fulvius, and he was specially to have the control of the capitol, when the consuls had gone to the war. There were great floods twice that year, and the Tiber overflowed the district with a terrible ruin of houses and destruction both of cattle and human beings.

B. C. 214.

It was in the fifth year of the Second Punic war that Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fourth and Marcus Marcellus for the third time entered on the consulship, attracting to themselves in an unusual degree the sympathies of the citizens. For many years there had not been such a pair of consuls. Old men recalled how in like manner Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius had been nominated consuls for the war with the Gauls,

and subsequently Papirius and Carvilius, to oppose the Samnites and Bruttians with the peoples of Lucania and Tarentum. Marcellus, being with the army, was appointed consul in his absence; Fabius, who was present, and himself holding the elections, had his consulship prolonged. The crisis and the exigencies of war, involving peril to the State's existence, rendered it impossible for any one to criticise the precedent, or to suspect the consul of ambition. Indeed, they rather praised his magnanimity; for knowing, as he did, that the State needed a supremely able commander, and that he was unquestionably such himself, he thought less of any personal unpopularity which might arise out of his election than of the interests of the country.

10. On the day on which the consuls entered on office the Senate was convoked in the Capitol. First of all it was decided that the consuls were to determine by lot or by arrangement between themselves, previous to their departure for the army, which of them should hold the elections for the appointment of censors. All who were with the troops had their commands prolonged, and orders to remain in their respective provinces were given to Tiberius Gracchus in Luceria, where he was with an army of volunteer slaves, to Terentius Varro in Picenum, and to Manlius Pomponius in the country of the Gauls. Among the prætors of the past year Quintus Mucius was to have, as pro-prætor, the province of Sardinia, and Marcus Valerius was to be near Brundisium to have charge of the coast and keep a vigilant eye on all the movements of Philip, king of Macedon. To Publius Cornelius Lentulus, as prætor, Sicily was assigned as his province, and to Titus Otacilius the fleet, which he had commanded in the previous year against the Carthaginians.

Several portents were announced that year. The more they were believed by simple-minded and pious people, the more numerous were the reports of them. At Lanuvium, within the temple of Juno Sospita, crows, it was said, had built a nest; in Apulia a palm with green leaves had caught fire; at Mantua an overflow of the waters of the river Mincius* had had the appearance of blood; at Cales it had rained chalk, and at Rome blood in the cattle-market; in the Insteian quarter an underground spring had burst forth with such a gush of water that

*Military
arrangements
of the Romans.*

Portents.

* Mincio.

BOOK XXIV. some jars and casks on the spot were overturned and swept away, as it were by the force of a torrent ; lightning had struck a public hall on the Capitol, a temple in Vulcan's field, a walnut tree and a public road in the Sabine country, as well as the city wall and a gate at Gabii.* Soon there was talk of other miraculous occurrences. The spear of Mars at Præneste† had moved of its own accord ; an ox in Sicily had spoken ; a child in its mother's womb in the Marrucine country had shouted " Ho, triumph " ; a woman at Spoletum‡ had been turned into a man ; an altar had been seen in the sky at Hadria, with forms of men round it in white apparel. And even at Rome itself, within the city, a swarm of bees had been seen in the forum, and immediately afterwards, some persons declaring that they beheld armed legions on the Janiculum, roused the citizens to arms. Those who were on the Janiculum at the time declared that no one had been seen there except the ordinary inhabitants of the hill. For these portents expiation was made with victims of the larger kind by direction of the diviners, and a day of public prayer was appointed to all the gods who had shrines at Rome.

*Disposition of
the Roman
armies.*

II. Having done all that was proper to make peace with heaven, the consuls took the Senate's opinion on the public policy, the conduct of the war, the required amount, and the disposal of the military forces. It was decided to carry on the war with eighteen legions. Each consul was to have two for himself. Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia were to be held each with two legions ; Quintus Fabius the prætor was to have two for the charge of Apulia, and Tiberius Gracchus two of volunteer slaves in the neighbourhood of Luceria. One was to be left for Caius Terentius, the pro-consul, in Picenum, one for Marcus Valerius with the fleet near Brundisium, and two were to garrison Rome. To make up the full number it was necessary to levy six new legions. These the consuls were directed to raise at the earliest opportunity, as well as to equip a fleet, so that with the ships stationed off the coast of Calabria the fleet that year would be made up to a hundred and fifty war ships.

*The fleet
strengthened.*

The troops levied, and a hundred new vessels launched, Quintus Fabius held elections for the appointment of censors. Marcus Atilius Regulus and Publius Furius Philus were

appointed. As rumours of the war in Sicily gained ground, Titus Otacilius received orders to proceed thither with his fleet. Sailors were wanting, and so the consuls, by direction of a resolution of the Senate, issued an edict to the effect that all persons who themselves or whose fathers in the censorship of Lucius Æmilius and Caius Flaminius had been assessed from five thousand to ten thousand denarii, or whose property had subsequently reached that amount, should furnish one sailor, with six months' pay; those whose assessment was from ten thousand to thirty thousand denarii, three sailors, with a year's pay; those above thirty thousand up to a hundred thousand, five sailors; those above a hundred thousand, seven sailors. Senators were to furnish eight, with a year's pay. Sailors were supplied in accordance with this edict; they were armed and equipped by their masters, and embarked with ready-cooked rations for thirty days. This was the first occasion on which a Roman fleet was manned with seamen furnished at private cost.

*Sailors
furnished at
private cost.*

12. These unusually great preparations especially alarmed the people of Campania, who feared that the Romans would begin the year's campaign with the siege of Capua. So they sent envoys to Hannibal, imploring him to advance with his army to Capua, as new armies were being levied at Rome to attack the city, no other defection having so greatly provoked the wrath of the Romans. With such agitation did they report the news that Hannibal, assured that he must be prompt or the Romans would forestall him, quitted Arpi and established himself in his old camp at Tifata, overlooking Capua. From Tifata, where he left some Numidian and Spanish troops as a defence both for his camp and for Capua, he marched with the rest of his army to lake Avernus, on the pretext of offering sacrifice, but really to make an attempt on Puteoli* and its garrison. Fabius, on being informed that Hannibal had moved from Arpi and was going back into Campania, marched night and day without intermission, and returned to his army. He also directed Tiberius Gracchus to bring up his forces from Luceria, and Quintus Fabius, the prætor, the consul's son, to take the place of Gracchus in those parts. At the same time two prætors started for Sicily, Publius Cornelius to command the

*Terror of the
Campanians.*

* Pozzuoli.

BOOK XXIV. army, and Otacilius to have charge of the coast and of the marine. The other prætors went to their respective provinces. Those whose term of office had been extended, were appointed to the same countries as in the past year.

13. While Hannibal was at lake Avernus, five young nobles from Tarentum came to him. They had been taken prisoners, some at lake Trasumennus, the others at Cannæ, and had been sent to their homes with the courteous treatment which the Carthaginians had uniformly shown to all the Roman allies. They told Hannibal that out of gratitude for his kindness they had prevailed on a majority of the young men of Tarentum to prefer his friendship and alliance to that of Rome. As envoys sent by their fellow townsmen they begged Hannibal to march his army closer to Tarentum. "Only let his banners and his camp be seen from Tarentum, and the city would come over to him without a moment's delay. The commons were under the control of the younger men, and the government was in the hands of the commons." Hannibal praised them warmly, loaded them with splendid gifts, and bade them return home and mature their plans. He would be with them himself at the right moment. With this assurance he dismissed the Tarentine envoys.

Meanwhile he was himself full of eagerness to secure Tarentum. It was, he saw, a rich and noble city, situated too on the coast, and most conveniently for Macedonia. King Philip would make for this port, were he to cross into Italy, as the Romans held Brindisium. So, having finished the sacrifice he had come to offer, and ravaged during his stay the country round Cumæ as far as the promontory of Misenum, he suddenly moved his army towards Puteoli, to surprise the Roman garrison. It consisted of six thousand men, and the place was defended by fortifications, as well as naturally strong. Here the Carthaginian lingered three days. He attempted every part of the fortress without any success, and then, more out of rage than with any hope of becoming master of the city, marched to plunder the district round Naples. His arrival in a country bordering on their own stirred the populace of Nola, who had long disliked the Romans and been at feud with the senate of their state. Envoys accordingly came to invite Hannibal with a

confident promise of the surrender of the town. Their design was anticipated by Marcellus, who was summoned by the principal citizens. In one day he reached Suessula from Cales, although the river Volturnus had delayed his passage. On the following night he threw into Nola six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry as a protection to the senate. While the consul was doing everything with promptness to secure the place against attack, Hannibal was frittering away his time ; as he had twice already made the same attempt without success, it became rather slow to put faith in the people of Nola. BOOK XXIV.

14. The consul, Quintus Fabius, about this same time marched to attack Casilinum, which was held by a Carthaginian garrison, while, almost as if by mutual arrangement, Hanno on one side advanced from Bruttium with a large force of infantry and cavalry on Beneventum, and Gracchus on the other side approached the place from Luceria. He was the first to enter the town. Soon afterwards, hearing that Hanno had encamped about three miles from it by the river Caloris, and was ravaging the country, he too quitted the walls and took up a position about a mile from the enemy. There he harangued his troops. His legions were to a great extent made up of volunteer slaves, who preferred silently earning their freedom by another year's service to demanding it publicly. Yet, as he left his winter quarters, he had heard murmurs among the soldiers on their march, who asked whether they were never to serve as free men. He had told the Senate by letter that the question was not so much what the men wanted as what they had deserved, adding that up to that day he had had from them good and brave services, and that all they wanted to complete their resemblance to a regular soldier was their freedom. Leave was given him to do in the matter whatever he thought was for the state's interest. Accordingly, before he engaged the enemy, he publicly gave out that "the long-hoped-for opportunity of winning their freedom had arrived. Next day he would fight a pitched battle in the clear, open plain, where, without any fear of ambuscades, matters could be decided by genuine valour. Whoever brought back the head of an enemy, should at once by his order be a free man ; but any one who quitted his post should suffer the death of a slave. Every man's fortune was

*Hanno and
Gracchus at
Beneventum.*

*Gracchus's offer
to the volunteer
slaves in his
army.*

BOOK XXIV. "in his own hand ; their freedom would be guaranteed, not by "himself only, but by the consul, Marcus Marcellus, and the "entire Senate, whom he had consulted respecting it, and who "had allowed him to decide."

Gracchus then read out to them the consul's despatch and the Senate's resolution. Thereupon they raised a shout of hearty approval, clamouring for battle, and furiously insisting that he should forthwith give the signal. Gracchus, having given out that he would fight next day, dismissed the assembly. The men were overjoyed, those especially who were to have their freedom as the reward of one day's good service, and spent their remaining time in getting their arms in readiness.

*Sharp
engagement.*

15. Next day, as soon as the signals began to sound, they were the very first to assemble, prepared and armed, at the general's tent. With sunrise Gracchus led out his army to battle. The enemy too showed no hesitation about fighting. He had seventeen thousand infantry, chiefly Bruttians and Lucanians, and twelve hundred cavalry, a very few of whom were Italians, the rest being almost all Numidians and Moors. The fight was both fierce and long, and for four hours hung in suspense. To the Romans nothing was a worse hindrance than the enemy's heads, offered as a price of freedom. The moment a soldier had promptly slain his foe, he first wasted his time in labouring to cut off the head amid the crowd and confusion ; then, as his right hand was occupied in holding the head, he ceased, however brave a man, to be a fighter, and so the battle was left in the hands of the slow and timid. Gracchus, on being told by the officers that not a man of the enemy was now being wounded where he stood, but only those who had fallen were being beheaded, and that the soldiers carried heads in their right hands instead of swords, at once had the order given that they were to fling away the heads and rush on the enemy. "Their valour," he said, "was sufficiently clear and conspicuous, and freedom "would be a certainty to such brave men." The battle was then renewed, and the cavalry too charged the enemy. The Numidians promptly met them, and, as the fight of the cavalry was now as fierce as that of the infantry, the result again became doubtful. The generals on either side heaped reproaches on their foe, the Roman taunting the Bruttians and Lucanians

with having been repeatedly beaten and conquered by his ancestors, while the Carthaginian talked of Roman slaves and soldiers fresh from a slave's prison, till at last Gracchus gave out that they must not hope for freedom, unless on that very day the enemy were routed and put to flight. BOOK XXIV.

16. At these words their hearts were finally roused, and again raising a shout, like different men, they threw themselves with such force on the enemy that further resistance was impossible. First the Carthaginian troops before the standards, then the soldiers immediately round them, fell into disorder, and at last their whole army was broken. Then there was unmistakable flight, and a rush of fugitives into the camp, in such panic and confusion that even at the camp-gates and intrenchments not a man stood his ground, and the Romans, who pursued in almost unbroken order, began another fresh battle within the enemy's lines. As the fighting was confined to a narrow space, the slaughter was all the more dreadful. It was helped on, too, by some prisoners who, snatching up swords amid the confusion and forming themselves into a body, cut down the Carthaginians in the rear and hindered their flight. Thus, out of so numerous an army, barely two thousand men, chiefly cavalry, escaped with their commander; all the rest were slain or captured. Thirty-eight standards were also taken.

*Defeat of the
Carthaginians.*

Of the victors about two thousand fell. All the spoil, except the prisoners, was given to the soldiers, any cattle being also reserved which was recognised by the owners within thirty days. When they had returned to the camp, laden with booty, about four thousand of the volunteer slaves, who had fought rather feebly, and had not broken into the enemy's lines with their comrades, fearing punishment, posted themselves on a hill not far from the camp. Next day they were marched down by their officers, and came, the last of all, to a gathering of the men, which Gracchus had summoned. The pro-consul first rewarded with military gifts the old soldiers according to their respective courage and good service in the late action; then, as regarded the volunteer-slaves, he said that he wished to praise all, worthy and unworthy alike, rather than on that day to punish a single man. "I bid you all be free," he added, "and

*Gracchus gives
the volunteer-
slaves their
freedom.*

BOOK XXIV. "may this be for the good, the prosperity and the happiness of the State, as well as of yourselves."

A shout of intense and eager joy was raised at these words, while the men one moment embraced and congratulated each other, and the next lifted their hands to heaven with a prayer for every blessing on the Roman people and on Gracchus himself. Gracchus then replied: "Before placing you all on the equal footing of freedom, I was unwilling to distinguish any of you as brave or as cowardly soldiers. Now as the State's promise has been already fulfilled, that all distinction between courage and cowardice may not be obliterated, I require you to give in to me the names of the men who, remembering that they had shrunk from the conflict, so lately seceded from us. I will call them one by one and bind them by an oath, that, those only excepted who shall have the excuse of illness, so long as they serve in war, they will take their meat and drink standing, and no otherwise. This penalty you will bear with resignation, if you reflect that you could not possibly have been branded with any lighter mark for cowardice."

He then gave them orders to gather up the camp furniture. The soldiers carrying or driving their spoil with mirth and jest came again to Beneventum, so full of frolic that they seemed to be returning from a banquet or some great festival rather than from a battle-field. All the people of Beneventum poured out in a crowd and met them at the gates, embracing and congratulating the men and offering them hospitality. Every citizen had prepared a feast in the open court of his house; to this he invited the soldiers and implored Gracchus to allow them to feast. Gracchus gave permission, on the understanding that they all feasted in public, every man at his own doors. All things necessary were brought forth. Wearing the cap of liberty or with heads wreathed with white wool, the volunteer slaves feasted, some reclining, others standing and serving and eating at the same time. It seemed a worthy occasion for Gracchus to order, as he did on his return to Rome, a picture of that celebrated day to be painted in the temple of Liberty which his father had had built on the Aventine out of money from state fines and had then dedicated.

17. During these proceedings at Beneventum, Hanniba

after ravaging the whole country round Naples, moved his camp to Nola. As soon as the consul knew of his approach, he sent for Pomponius, the pro-prætor, with the army which was in camp overlooking Suessula,* and prepared to meet the foe and to fight without any delay. In the silence of night, through the gate that was furthest from the enemy, he sent out Caius Claudius Nero with the main strength of the cavalry. Nero had orders to ride stealthily round the enemy's army and follow them up slowly, and throw himself on their rear, as soon as he saw the battle begun. This he failed to accomplish, whether from mistaking the way or from want of time is uncertain. The action began in his absence, and though the Romans had unquestionably the advantage, yet, as the cavalry did not show themselves at the right moment, the arrangements for the day were disturbed. Marcellus dared not pursue his foe as he retired, and gave the signal for retreat. But more than ten thousand of the enemy are said to have been slain that day; of the Romans less than four hundred. Towards sunset Nero, with horses and men wearied by a useless march of a day and a night, without so much as having seen the enemy, began to return, and very heavily was he censured by the consul, who declared that it was through him that they had not repaid the foe for the defeat of Cannæ. Next day the Romans marched out to battle, while the Carthaginians, thus silently confessing their own defeat, kept themselves within their camp. The third day Hannibal, who had now relinquished all hope of possessing himself of Nola, an attempt in which he had never been successful, started in the silence of night for Tarentum, where he saw a better prospect of a treacherous surrender.

BOOK XXIV.

Hannibal at Nola.

* Sessola.

*Marcellus marches against him.**Roman victory.**Hannibal marches on Tarentum.**Severity of the censors.*

18. The Romans conducted their affairs at home with quite as much spirit as in the camp. The censors, who from the poverty of the exchequer were entirely free from all business connected with building contracts, turned their attention to controlling morals and punishing the evil ways which had arisen out of war, just as various ills are naturally developed in the body by long disease. First they summoned all who were said to have deserted the State after the battle of Cannæ, and to have wished to leave Italy. Of these the chief, Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, happened then to be quæstor. He and the others

BOOK XXIV. charged with the same offence were ordered to take their trial, and as they could not clear themselves, sentence was pronounced that they had held language and made speeches to the injury of the State, with the object of organising a conspiracy for the abandonment of Italy. Next were summoned the ingenious persons who sought to explain away an oath, all the prisoners who thought that by stealthily stealing back into Hannibal's camp they had redeemed their sworn promise to return.

*Many citizens
disfranchised.*

As many of these and of those before-mentioned as had a horse at the State's expense were deprived of it. They were also expelled from their tribe and were all disfranchised.

The attention of the censors was not, however, confined to the regulation of the Senate and of the Knights. They erased from the list of the "juniors" the names of all who had not completed four years' service, unless they had had proper discharge on the excuse of illness. More than two thousand of such names were included among the disfranchised, and all were expelled from their tribes. To this cruelly severe action of the censor's was added a harsh resolution of the Senate. All whom the censors had degraded, were to serve on foot and be sent to Sicily with what remained of the army at Cannæ. This class of soldiers was not to finish its term of service till the enemy had been driven out of Italy.

Although the censors from the poverty of the exchequer still held aloof from all contracts for the repair of sacred buildings, for the furnishing horses for the state carriages and similar things, persons used to the taking of such public contracts flocked to them in numbers. They earnestly implored the censors to transact business and to give out contracts just as if there had been money in the exchequer. No one, they said, would make a claim on the exchequer till the war was over. Next came the owners of the slaves whom Tiberius Sempronius had manumitted at Beneventum. They said that they had had notice from the three public bank directors that they were to receive the value of their slaves, but that they would not take the money till the war was at an end. There being this zealous disposition on the part of the commons to relieve the necessities of the exchequer, the money first of wards and then of widows also began to be deposited, and those who paid in this money fe

*Liberality of
private citizens.*

assured that they could not trust it more safely or more piously than to the good faith of the State. Whatever was bought or provided out of it for the wards or widows, was paid for by a note of credit from the quæstor. This generous spirit among private citizens spread from the city to the camp ; not a horse-soldier, not a centurion would accept pay, and any man who took it, they tauntingly called a mercenary.

BOOK XXIV.

Fabius besieges Casilinum.

19. The consul Quintus Fabius had his camp at Casilinum. The place was held by a garrison of two thousand Campanians and seven hundred of Hannibal's soldiers, under the command of Statius Metius, sent thither by Cneius Magius Atellanus, who that year was supreme magistratè, and who had been arming the slaves and populace indiscriminately, intending to attack the Roman camp while the consul was intent on the siege of Casilinum. Nothing of all this escaped Fabius. He therefore sent to his colleague at Nola, saying that, while he was besieging Casilinum, there must be another army to oppose the Campanians ; either he should come himself, leaving a moderate force at Nola, or if he were detained at Nola and still felt uneasy about Hannibal's movements, he would himself summon to his aid the pro-consul Tiberius Gracchus from Beneventum.

Marcellus marches to join him.

Marcellus, on receiving this message, left two thousand troops in garrison at Nola, and marched with the rest of his army to Casilinum. The Campanians, who were beginning to bestir themselves, became quiet on his arrival. And so Casilinum now began to be besieged by the two consuls. Fabius, finding that the Roman soldiers suffered continual losses in heedlessly approaching the walls, and that his attempts had but little success, thought it best, as matters of more importance were pressing them, to retire and abandon an undertaking, small in itself, but quite as difficult as some great enterprise. Marcellus, however, urged that, though there were many things which a great general ought not to attempt, yet he must not relinquish an attempt once made, as the world's opinion has great weight, for good or ill. He thus maintained his point—that the attempt should not be abandoned. Mantlets, with every variety of engineering work and machinery, were now applied to the place, and the Campanians implored Fabius to let them depart in safety to Capua. A few had passed out when Marcellus

BOOK XXIV. seized the gate by which they were leaving, and then began an indiscriminate and universal slaughter, first, near the gate, and soon afterwards in the town, into which the besiegers had rushed. About fifty Campanians, who were the first to leave, fled to Fabius for refuge, and under his protection reached Capua. While these conferences and protracted appeals for protection were going on, Casilinum, at a favourable moment, was taken. The captives, such as were Campanians, and all who were Hannibal's soldiers, were sent to Rome, and there imprisoned, while the mass of the townsfolk were scattered among the neighbouring populations to be under surveillance.

*Casilinum
taken.*

20. At the very time that the Romans, after their success, withdrew from Casilinum, Gracchus despatched some cohorts, which he had levied in Lucania, under the command of an officer of allies, on a marauding expedition into the enemy's territory. They had dispersed far and wide, when Hanno fell on them and repaid his foe with a defeat nearly as complete as he had himself sustained at Beneventum. He then retired rapidly into Bruttium, to avoid the pursuit of Gracchus. As to the consuls, Marcellus returned, whence he came, to Nola, while Fabius marched into Samnium, to ravage the district, and to recover by arms the revolted cities. Caudium in Samnium was cruelly devastated; far and wide was the country fired, and the cattle and inhabitants carried off as booty. Many towns were taken by assault, Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Fugifulæ, and Orbitanium. Blanda in Lucania, and Ææ in Apulia, were stormed. In these cities five-and-twenty thousand of the enemy were captured or slain. Three hundred deserters were recovered; these were sent to Rome by the consul, and were, without exception, scourged in the Comitium, and then flung from the rock. All this was done by Quintus Fabius in the course of a few days.

*Carthaginian
victory in
Lucania.*

*Fabius lays
waste Samnium.*

Marcellus was detained from further action by illness at Nola. Meanwhile, Quintus Fabius, the prætor, who had charge of the country round Luceria, took by storm the town Acuca and established a permanent camp at Ardaneæ. During these operations of the Romans in other parts, Hannibal had pushed on to Tarentum, utterly destroying everything in his line of march. Arrived, at last, in Tarentine territory, his army began

to advance peacefully, injuring nothing, and nowhere quitting its proper route. This was clearly done, not from any moderation in soldiers or general, but only to win the goodwill of the Tarentines. When he came almost close to the walls, there was no movement, as he expected, at the sight of his vanguard, and he encamped about a mile from the city. Three days before Hannibal approached the walls of Tarentum, Marcus Livius had been sent by the pro-prætor Marcus Valerius, commander of the fleet at Brundisium. He had organised a band of the young nobles, and posted guards, as circumstances required, at all the gates and walls of the city, and by his unflagging vigilance night and day gave neither enemies nor doubtful friends an opportunity of attempting anything. Hannibal, therefore, after uselessly passing some days at the place, as none of those who had paid him a visit at the lake of Avernus either came themselves or sent him any message or letter, saw that he had been led thither by an idle promise, and moved his camp. Even now he did not injure the Tarentine territory, still clinging to the hope of shaking their loyalty, though his pretended mildness had as yet done him no good. On reaching Salapia,* as midsummer was past, and he liked the place for winter-quarters, he collected stores of corn from the country round Metapontum and Heraclea. His Numidians and Moors were despatched on plundering raids through the Sallentine territory, and the downs bordering on Apulia. Here they did not get much booty; it was chiefly herds of horses which they drove off. Of these, about four thousand were distributed among the cavalry to be broken in.

*Hannibal
encamps before
Tarentum.*

* Salpi.

*He falls back on
Salapia.*

21. As the Romans saw that a war which could not possibly be neglected was about to break out in Sicily, and that the tyrant's death had given the Syracusans enterprising leaders rather than led to any change in policy or in public feeling, they assigned the province to one of the consuls, Marcus Marcellus. The murder of Hieronymus was instantly followed by a mutiny among the soldiers at Leontini, and fierce shoutings that the king's death must be expiated by the blood of the conspirators. Very soon the phrase "restored freedom," welcome to the ear, and continually repeated, the hope of largesse out of the royal treasure, and of military service under

BOOK XXIV. better leaders, the story, too, of the foul crimes and fouler passions of the tyrant so wrought on their minds that the body of the king, so lately the object of their regret, was suffered by them to lie unburied. While the rest of the conspirators remained on the spot to secure the control of the army, two, Theodotus and Sosis, hurried with all possible speed on the king's horses to Syracuse, bent on the immediate overthrow of the royal minister, who as yet knew nothing. Not only, however, were they forestalled by rumour, and in such matters nothing flies more quickly, but also by a messenger from among the king's slaves. And so Andranodorus had secured with garrisons both the island, the citadel, and every other convenient position he could.

*Commotion in
Syracuse.*

The sun had set, and the light was quite dim, when Theodotus and Sosis rode into the Hexapylon. Displaying the king's blood-stained robe and the crown that had adorned his head, they rode through the Tycha, and summoning the people to liberty and to arms, bade them assemble in the Achradina. Some of the multitude rushed into the streets, some stood in the doorways, others looked out from the windows of their houses, asking incessantly what had occurred. Lights were flaring everywhere, and the whole city was in an uproar; armed men were gathering in the open spaces, while an unarmed crowd tore down from the temple of Olympian Jupiter the spoils taken from Gauls and Illyrians, which Hiero had received as a present from the Roman people, and had nailed to the walls. All the time they prayed Jupiter that of his goodwill and favour he would grant them the use of those sacred arms, with which to arm themselves in defence of their country, their temples, and their freedom. The multitude also mingled with the guards stationed in the principal districts of the city. In the island, among other places, Andranodorus had posted garrisons in the public granaries. The place, walled in with square stone-blocks, and fortified like a castle, was now seized by a band of youth, assigned for its defence, and a message was sent to the Achradina that the granaries and the corn were in the possession of the Senate.

22. At daybreak all the citizens, armed and unarmed, assembled in the Achradina, at the Senate-house. There, before

the altar of Concord, situate in the place, one of the leading men, Polyænus by name, delivered a speech, which was both frank and moderate. "Men," he said, "who have experienced servitude and its humiliations are angry with an evil which they know well. What mischiefs are introduced by civil discord you Syracusans have heard from your forefathers, rather than actually witnessed. I praise you for taking up arms so promptly ; I shall praise you still more if you do not use them, unless driven by extreme necessity. At this crisis it will be well to send envoys to Andranodorus, to warn him that he submit himself to the Senate and the people, open the gates of the island, and surrender the fort. Should he wish to make a regency held in trust for another into a tyranny of his own, I, for my part, am in favour of our claiming back our liberties much more fiercely from Andranodorus than from Hieronymus."

BOOK XXIV.

Advice of Polyænus.

After this speech the envoys were despatched. Then began a sitting of the Senate. This, though during Hiero's reign it had continued to be the state-council, had never been convened or consulted after his death until that day. Andranodorus, on the arrival of the deputies, was alarmed by the unanimity of the citizens, and by the fact that not only were other parts of the city in military occupation, but also that the most strongly fortified part of the island had been surrendered and was in hostile hands. But his wife, Damarata, Hiero's daughter, with the spirit of a queen and the arrogance of a woman still swelling within her, called him away from the envoys, and reminded him of a saying often in the mouth of the tyrant Dionysius. "One ought to leave a tyrant's throne," he would say, "dragged by the heels, and not mounted on a horse. It was easy, at any moment a man pleased, to retire from holding a great position ; to create and win that position was arduous and difficult. Make the envoys," said Damarata to her husband, "give you a little time for deliberation ; use that for getting soldiers from Leontini, and all will be in your power, if you promise them the royal treasures."

*Envoys sent to Andranodorus.**Counsel of his wife.*

These feminine counsels Andranodorus neither wholly rejected nor immediately accepted. He thought there was a safer way of securing power by yielding for the present to the

BOOK XXIV. exigencies of the crisis. So he bade the envoys take word back that he would submit himself to the Senate and people. Next day, at dawn, he threw open the gates of the island, and entered the forum in the Achradina. There he mounted the altar of Concord, from which the day before Polyænus had delivered his harangue, and began a speech, in which first he apologised for his indecision. "He had kept the gates shut, not to separate his own interests from those of the state, but because he feared, when swords were once drawn, as to where bloodshed might end, and doubted whether they would be satisfied with the tyrant's death, sufficient though it was for freedom, or whether all who were connected with the palace by kinship or marriage, or in some official capacity, would be slaughtered, as being chargeable with another man's guilt. As soon as he saw that those who had freed their country were resolved to keep it free, and that all were consulting for the common welfare, he no longer hesitated to give back to his country his person and all things intrusted to his protection, inasmuch as the man who had intrusted them to him had been destroyed by his own infatuation." Then turning to the tyrant's assassins, and addressing Theodotus and Sosis by name, he said, "You have done a memorable deed. But, be assured, your glory is only begun; it is not yet complete. The greatest peril awaits us, unless you study peace and unity, of a free state degenerating into a savage community."

*Speech of
Andranodorus
to the
Syracusans.*

23. After this speech, he threw down at their feet the keys of the gates and of the royal treasury. That day, after the assembly had broken up, the people, in their joy, with wives and children, gathered round all the shrines of the gods. Next day was held a meeting for the election of prætors. Andranodorus was one of the first appointed. The majority of the rest had been among the assassins of the tyrant, and two, Sopater and Dinomenes, were elected in their absence. These men, on hearing what had taken place at Syracuse, conveyed to that city the royal treasure at Leontini, and handed it over to financial officials appointed for the purpose. The same was done with the treasures in the island and the Achradina, and that portion of the wall which fenced off the island by a needlessly strong barrier from the rest of the city, was, by genera

*Election of
prætors at
Syracuse.*

consent, demolished. All their other proceedings, too, were in accordance with this bias of the popular mind towards freedom. BOOK XXIV.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, when the news of the tyrant's death was known, which Hippocrates had sought to conceal, by actually killing the bearer of the tidings, found themselves deserted by the soldiers, and returned to Syracuse, their safest course, as they thought, under existing circumstances. That they might show themselves there without exciting suspicion, as men seeking an opportunity for revolution, they went first to the prætors, and then, with their introduction, to the senate. "Hannibal," they affirmed, "had sent them to Hieronymus as a friend and ally; they had obeyed the rule of the man to whom their commander wished them to be subject; now they desired to return to Hannibal. As however the journey was not safe while Roman troops were wandering over the whole of Sicily, they begged to be allowed something of an escort to conduct them to Locri in Italy. The Syracusans would thus, by a trifling service, lay Hannibal under a great obligation."

*Return of
Hippocrates and
Epicydes to
Syracuse.*

*They ask leave
to go back to
Hannibal.*

Their request was readily granted. The departure of the king's generals, needy and daring men, as well as adepts in war, was what was desired. But Hippocrates and Epicydes did not carry out their purpose as promptly as the urgency of the business suggested. Meanwhile, some young men, themselves of soldierly tastes, as well as intimate associates of the soldiers, went now among the men, now among the deserters, most of whom were Roman seamen, and then again even among the lowest class of the populace, spreading calumnies against the senate and the aristocracy. These, they said, were secretly plotting and contriving to get Syracuse under the power of Rome on the pretext of a restored alliance, and then the faction which had been the authors of the new treaty would be their masters.

24. A daily increasing multitude, ready to hear and believe all this, flocked to Syracuse, and gave not only Epicydes but also Andranodorus hopes of a revolution. Andranodorus was at last quite wearied out by his wife's speeches. "Now," she would repeat, "now was the time to seize the government, while all was in the confusion caused by a new and ill-regulated liberty, while a soldiery that had fattened on the royal pay was showing

*Andranodorus
thinks of seizing
the government.*

BOOK XXIV. "itself, and leaders sent by Hannibal and well known to the "troops were able to help his enterprise." He communicated his plans to Themistus, the husband of Gelon's daughter, and a few days afterwards incautiously disclosed them to one Ariston a tragic actor, to whom he had been wont to intrust also other secrets. Ariston was a man of respectable family and position, which were not disgraced by his profession, as nothing of that kind is a matter of shame to a Greek. So, thinking that the loyalty he owed his country ought to be his first consideration, he laid an information before the prætors. As soon as they had ascertained by decisive evidence that it was no mere idle tale, they consulted the older senators, and having, with their sanction, placed a guard at the doors, they slew Andranodorus and Themistus as they entered the senate-house. Confusion followed a deed to all appearance unusually atrocious, and of which others did not know the motive, but at last silence was obtained, and the informer was conducted into the chamber.

*He is
assassinated.*

The man told the whole story in its proper order, how the beginning of the conspiracy dated from the marriage of Gelon's daughter, Harmonia, to Themistus; how some African and Spanish auxiliaries had been put in readiness for the massacre of the prætors and chief citizens; how it had been openly announced that the property of these men would be given to their murderers; how a band of mercenaries accustomed to obey the biddings of Andranodorus had been already provided for a second seizure of the island. Last, he put before their eyes every detail, how each conspirator was engaged, and the whole conspiracy itself, with its array of armed men. The senate then felt that the victims had deserved their death as much as had Hieronymus. The cries of a bewildered mob, all uncertain as to the facts, were heard at the doors, but as they shouted their savage threats at the entrance of the chamber, they were so awe-struck by the sight of the bodies of the conspirators that they silently accompanied the calmer portion of the populace to a public assembly. Sopater was instructed by the senate and his colleagues to address them.

*Excitement at
Syracuse.*

25. He began with the past life of the conspirators, just as if he was formally accusing them, and contended that of all the wicked and impious deeds done since the death of Hiero,

*One of the
prætors
addresses the
people.*

Andranodorus and Themistus had been the authors. "What," he asked, "could a boy like Hieronymus, barely entering upon youth, have done of his own accord? Guardians and tutors had, in fact, reigned while another bore the odium, and therefore they ought to have perished either before Hieronymus, or at any rate along with him. Yet these men, long ago destined to the fate that they deserved, had plotted other new crimes after the tyrant's death. This had been done openly at first when Andranodorus shut the gates of the island, and entered on the royal inheritance, claiming as a master what he had held as a steward. Afterwards, finding himself deserted by the occupants of the island, and beleaguered by all the citizens as soon as they had possession of the Achradina, he had begun secretly and treacherously to grasp at the sovereignty which he had in vain sought openly and publicly; and, when he who had plotted against freedom was chosen prætor among those who had given this freedom to their country, even favour and promotion could not turn him from his purpose. The truth was that wives of royal birth had inspired them with royal arrogance, for one had married Hiero's, the other Gelon's, daughter."

At these words there was a shout from every part of the assembly that neither of those women ought to live; that no scion of a family of tyrants ought to survive. Such is the character of a mob; either they are abjectly submissive or insolently domineering; the independence which lies between these two extremes, they can neither throw off nor enjoy without plunging into excesses. Generally, too, persons are found who minister indulgence to their angry moods, and rouse their eager and intemperate passion to bloodshed and slaughter. So it was on this occasion. The prætors at once brought forward a motion, which was accepted almost before it had been made, to have the whole royal family put to death. Damarata and Harmonia, the daughters of Hiero and Gelon, and the wives of Andranodorus and Themistus, were executed by men sent by the prætors for the purpose.

*The family of
Hiero put to
death.*

26. There was a daughter of Hiero, Heraclea, married to Zoippus, who had been sent by Hieronymus as an envoy to King Ptolemy, and had chosen voluntary exile. Knowing before-

BOOK XXIV. hand, that she too would receive a visit from the executioners, she fled to the shrine where stood the household deities with two maiden daughters, her hair dishevelled, and her appearance in other respects most pitiable. To this appeal she added also her entreaties. Invoking the memory of her father, Hiero, and her brother, Gelon, she implored them "not to suffer an innocent woman to be destroyed by the furious hatred provoked by Hieronymus. She had got nothing from his reign but her husband's banishment; while he lived, her position had not been that of her sister's; neither, after his death, had her interests been the same. Need she say that, had the designs of Andranodorus succeeded, her sister would have reigned with him, while she must have been a slave with the rest. Should Zoippus be told that Hieronymus had been slain and Syracuse set free, who could doubt that he would instantly take ship and return to his country? How completely are men's hopes deceived! His country was indeed free, but in it his wife and his children were struggling for life, and yet how had they opposed freedom and law? What danger was there to any one from herself, a solitary woman, all but a widow, or from girls living in orphanhood? They might say that though they feared no danger from her, yet they hated the royal family. Then let them banish her from Syracuse and Sicily, and have her conveyed to Alexandria, the wife to the husband, the daughters to the father."

She saw that their ears and hearts were closed to her, and that a sword was being sharpened, that no time might be lost. Then ceasing to entreat for herself, she was urgent in supplication that they would at least spare her daughters, "as even an enemy in his fury did not harm youth like theirs, and they should not in their vengeance on tyrants imitate themselves the crimes they hated."

*Murder of his
daughter
Hieraclea.*

While she was speaking, they dragged her from her sanctuary and slew her; then they fell on the maidens, who were sprinkled with their mother's blood. Grief and terror combined had robbed them of reason, and, as if seized with frenzy, they bounded from the shrine with such a rush that, had escape into the street been possible for them, they would have filled the

city with their outcries. Even as it was, within the confined space of the house, and amid a number of armed men, they more than once eluded capture without injury to their persons, and though the hands out of which they had to struggle were many and strong, they tore themselves from their grasp. At last, exhausted with wounds, while the whole place reeked with their blood, they fell lifeless to the ground. This pitiable end was made yet more pitiable by the circumstance that soon afterwards there came a message, the result of a sudden change to a more merciful mood, forbidding their execution. After pity came anger that they had been so hasty in punishment as to leave no room for repentance, no retreat from their vindictive mood. And so the people fumed, and insisted on an election to fill the places of Andranodorus and Themistus, both of whom had been prætors, an election which was by no means likely to be satisfactory to the prætors.

27. On the day fixed for the election, to the surprise of all, one man at the extremity of the crowd nominated Epicydes, and another thereupon nominated Hippocrates. The voices then became more frequent, and carried with them the unmistakable assent of the people. There was disorder, too, in the assembly, in which were throngs of soldiers, as well as of citizens, and with these were largely mingled deserters, who were eager for a wholesale revolution. At first the prætors pretended ignorance, and were bent on delaying matters, but at last, yielding to the unanimous feeling, and dreading a riot, they declared the men elected.

*Epicydes and
Hippocrates
elected prætors.*

On being appointed they did not at once disclose their intentions. Yet they took it ill that envoys had gone to Appius Claudius to arrange a ten days' truce, and that, this having been granted, others had been sent to negotiate a renewal of the ancient treaty. The Romans had at the time a fleet of a hundred vessels at Murgantia, and were awaiting the result of the disturbances at Syracuse arising out of the murder of the tyrants, and the effect on the people of their new and unwonted freedom. Meanwhile the Syracusan envoys had been sent by Appius to Marcellus, who was on his way to Sicily, and Marcellus, having heard the terms of peace, and thinking that matters could be arranged, himself also despatched an embassy

*Envoys from
Marcellus to
Syracuse.*

BOOK XXIV. to Syracuse, to discuss publicly with the prætors the renewal of the treaty. - And now there was by no means the same quiet and tranquillity in the city. As soon as news arrived of a Carthaginian fleet being near Pachynus, Hippocrates and Epicydes, throwing off all fear, pressed the accusation, now before the mercenary troops, now before the deserters, that Syracuse was being betrayed to the Romans. And when Appius began to have his fleet stationed at the mouth of the harbour, thinking to encourage the adherence of the other party, this gave a decisive assurance to what were apparently idle charges. At first, too, there was a tumultuous rush of the people to the shore to repel any attempt at landing.

*Disturbances in
the city.*

*Advice of
one of the chief
citizens.*

28. Amid all this confusion it was decided to summon the citizens to an assembly. Some were for one course, others for another, and they were on the verge of a riot, when Apollonides, one of their chief men, addressed them in a speech which, considering the occasion, was salutary. "Never," he said, "had any state been nearer to ruin or to a prospect of safety. "Were all unanimously to lean either to Rome or to Carthage, "no state would be in a more fortunate or happy condition. "But, should one party drag them one way, another another, "then war between the Carthaginians and Romans would not "be more frightful than that between the Syracusans themselves; for within the same walls each faction would have "its troops, its arms, and its officers. There ought, therefore, to "be a supreme effort to secure unanimity; the question which "alliance was the more advantageous, was far less important, "and of much lighter moment. Still, in choosing allies, they "should rather follow the authority of Hiero than that of "Hieronymus, and prefer a friendship tried for fifty years with "happy results to one which was now strange to them, and "which in the past had been untrustworthy. One thing too had "an important bearing on their deliberations. They could "refuse peace to the Carthaginians without having, at least in "the immediate present, to be at war with them. With the "Romans they must at once be either at peace or war."

The speech had all the more weight for seeming to show little personal ambition or party spirit. To the prætors and certain select Senators were joined also some military advisers,

and the officers and commanders of the auxiliaries were called into council. The matter was repeatedly discussed in fierce debates, and at last, as there appeared to be no possible means of waging war with Rome, it was decided to conclude a peace and to send an embassy along with the Roman envoys to secure its ratification.

BOOK XXIV.
*Peace with
Rome decided on.*

29. Not very many days had elapsed when envoys came from Leontini, imploring protection for their territory. This embassy seemed to the Syracusans a particularly opportune means of relieving themselves of a disorderly and tumultuous mob, and of getting rid of its leaders. Hippocrates received orders to march thither with the deserters, and these were followed by many of the mercenaries, who made up the number to four thousand. It was an expedition welcome alike to the senders and to the sent. The one hailed it as an opportunity of those revolutionary schemes for which they had long been craving; the others rejoiced at the thought that they had cleared their city of its dregs. But they relieved it only for a moment, to relapse, like a diseased body, into a more fatal malady. Hippocrates began ravaging in stealthy raids the borders of the Roman province; afterwards, when troops were despatched by Appius to defend the lands of the allies, he made a most murderous onslaught with all his forces on a picquet posted to oppose him. Marcellus, on receiving the news, instantly sent envoys to Syracuse to say that the guarantees of peace had been destroyed, and that an occasion of war would never be wanting, unless Hippocrates and Epicydes were banished, not only from Syracuse, but from the whole of Sicily.

*Marcellus
demands the
expulsion of
Hippocrates and
Epicydes.*

Epicydes, unwilling either to be present where he might be arraigned for the misdeeds of an absent brother, or to fail to do his part to excite a war, went himself to Leontini, and, as he saw that the citizens were sufficiently exasperated against the Roman people, began to try to alienate them likewise from the Syracusans. He told them "that the Syracusans had made peace with the Romans only on the condition that all states which had been under the kings were also to be under Syracusan subjection. They were now not satisfied with freedom, unless they could rule in kingly fashion and domineer. They ought to have word sent back to them that the Leontines also thought it

*Epicydes goes
to Leontini.*

BOOK XXIV. "right to be free. For it was in the streets of their city of Syracuse that the tyrant had fallen ; it was there that the cry of freedom had first been raised, and it was to Syracuse that men flocked after the desertion of the royal leaders. That part of the treaty, therefore, ought to be struck out, or the treaty ought not to be accepted with such a condition."

*The Leontines
decline to make
common cause
with the
Syracusans.*

The mass of the citizens were easily convinced. When the Syracusan envoys complained of the slaughter of the Roman detachment, and insisted on the departure of Hippocrates and Epicydes to Locri, or wherever else they pleased, provided only they quitted Sicily, they received a defiant answer. "They," the Leontines, "had not authorised the Syracusans to make peace with the Romans on their behalf, and they were not bound by other peoples' treaties." The Syracusans reported this answer to the Romans, and denied that the Leontines were under their control. "Consequently," they added, "the Romans might go to war with them without breaking the treaty between Rome and themselves, nor would they fail to do their part in that war, on condition, however, that, when subdued, they were again to be under Syracusan subjection, as had been stipulated in the peace"

*Marcellus
marches on
Leontini, and
takes the city.*

30. Marcellus marched for Leontini with his entire army, and summoned Appius also to attack in another quarter. He found such ardour in his troops from their rage at the slaughter of a detachment during negotiations for peace that at the very first assault the city was stormed. Hippocrates and Epicydes, as soon as they saw the walls taken and the gates broken open, betook themselves with a few followers to the citadel. Thence they fled secretly by night to Herbessus. The Syracusans had started from home with eight thousand armed men, and were met at the river Myla by news of the capture of the city. As for the details, falsehood was mingled with truth. There had been, the messenger said, an indiscriminate slaughter of soldier and of townsfolk, and he did not believe that a single adult survived ; the city had been pillaged, and the property of the rich given away.

At these dreadful tidings the army halted. Amid universal excitement the officers (these were Sosis and Dinomenes) consulted what they were to do. A reasonable ground for pan

was lent to the falsehood by the fact that deserters to the number of two thousand had been scourged and slain by the axe of the executioner. As it was, not a Leontine citizen, not a soldier, had been harmed after the city's capture. All their property had been restored to them, except what had perished in the first confusion of the storming. The Syracusans could not be induced to go to Leontini, complaining that their fellow-soldiers had been betrayed to be slaughtered, or even to await on the spot more certain intelligence. When the prætors saw an inclination to mutiny, but knew that the stir would not last long if their leaders in folly were removed, they marched the army to Megara. They themselves with a few cavalry pushed on for Herbessus in the hope of securing the place by surrender amid a general panic. Finding their attempt frustrated, and thinking they must use force, they moved their camp next day from Megara, purposing to attack Herbessus with their whole army. Hippocrates and Epicydes thought that their only resource, though it was not at first sight a safe one, was to give themselves up to the soldiers, who for the most part knew them well and who were now infuriated by the rumour of their comrades' slaughter. And so they went out to meet the army. It happened that in the van were the standards of six hundred Cretans who had served under them in the time of Hieronymus, and were under an obligation to Hannibal by whom they had been taken prisoners at Trasumennus among the Roman auxiliaries and then released. Hippocrates and Epicydes recognising them by their standards and the appearance of their arms, held out olive-branches with other suppliant-emblems, imploring them to receive and protect them, and not deliver them to the Syracusans by whom they would themselves be soon surrendered to the Romans to be slaughtered.

*Hippocrates and
Epicydes
surrender
themselves
to the Syracusan
troops.*

31. They shouted in reply, "Be of good heart; we will undergo any fate with you." During the interview the standards were halted, and the march of the army arrested, but yet the cause of the delay had not reached the commanding-officer. When the report spread that Hippocrates and Epicydes were there, and a cry rose from the whole army in hearty approval of their presence, the prætors instantly rode to the van at full gallop. "What is this behaviour?" they asked

BOOK XXIV. vehemently; "what means this licence of the Cretans in holding conferences with the enemy, and letting them mingle in their ranks without any authority from the prætors?" They ordered Hippocrates to be arrested and put in irons. The word was followed instantly by clamour from the Cretans, which was soon taken up by other soldiers, so that it was evident that the prætors, if they persisted, had cause for alarm. Perplexed and doubtful as to their position, they ordered a retreat to Megara, whence they had come, and sent intelligence to Syracuse about their present situation. Hippocrates seeing that men's minds were ready for any suspicion, employed a new artifice. He sent out some Cretans to lurk in ambush about the roads, and then read out a letter which he pretended to be an intercepted communication, but which he had composed himself. It was addressed, "The prætors to the consul Marcellus." After the usual greeting, it went on to say, "you have acted rightly and properly in not sparing any one at Leontini. But all the mercenary soldiers are in the same case, and Syracuse will never be at peace as long as there are any foreign auxiliaries either in the city or in their army. Do your best, then, to get into your power those, who, with their prætors, are in camp at Megara, and give final freedom to Syracuse by their execution."

*Artifice of
Hippocrates.*

When this letter had been read out, there was everywhere a rush to arms, with such shouting that the prætors rode off panic-stricken amid the disorder to Syracuse. Even their flight did not stop the mutiny, and violent attacks were made on the Syracusan soldiers. None of them would have been spared, had not Epicydes and Hippocrates resisted the fury of the mob. This they did, not out of compassion, or with any humane purpose, but that they might not cut off from themselves all hope of return. In the soldiers themselves they would thus have loyal adherents and hostages as well, while they would secure the attachment of their kinsfolk and friends in the first instance by this service, and afterwards by keeping them as a pledge. Knowing, as they did, by experience, how susceptible are the common people to any foolish and groundless excitement they pitched on one of the soldiers who had been besieged in Leontini, and engaged him to carry intelligence to Syracuse.

corresponding with what had been falsely reported at Myla. By declaring that he vouched for its truth, and by relating things thought doubtful, as if he had witnessed them, he was to rouse the fury of the citizens. BOOK XXIV.

32. The man not only won the belief of the populace, but he also profoundly impressed the Senate, into whose chamber he was introduced. Men by no means wanting in sense openly avowed that it was very fortunate that the rapacity and cruelty of the Romans had been unmasked at Leontini, and that, had they entered Syracuse, they would have done the same or even more hideous acts, inasmuch as their rapacity would have found there a richer prize. All therefore agreed that they ought to close the gates and guard the city, but all were not unanimous in their fears and hates. To the military class and the majority of the population the name of Rome was odious, while the prætors and a few of the aristocracy, though the false intelligence had excited them, were for providing against a nearer and a more pressing danger. Already Hippocrates and Epicydes were at the Hexapylon, and there were incessant conversations among the relatives of the native Syracusan soldiers in favour of opening the gates and letting their common country be defended against a Roman attack.

Angry feeling of the Syracusans against the Romans.

One of the gates of the Hexapylon had now been opened, and the soldiers were beginning to be admitted when the prætors came up. First they tried to check them by commands and threats, then by their influence, and at last, finding it all in vain, regardless of their dignity they had recourse to entreaties, and begged them not to betray their country to men who but lately were the ministers of a tyrant and were now the corrupters of the army. But the ears of the infuriated mob were deaf to everything, and the efforts from within to break open the gates were as violent as those from without, till all had been forced and the army was admitted into every part of the Hexapylon.

Popular outbreak.

The prætors fled with the youth of the citizens to the Achradina. Meanwhile the enemy's army was swollen by the mercenary soldiers, the deserters, and all the late king's troops which were at Syracuse. And consequently the Achradina was taken at the first assault, and all the prætors but those who escaped in the confusion were put to death. Night terminated

BOOK XXIV. the massacres. Next day the slaves were called together to receive the cap of freedom, and all prisoners were discharged. Then this motley assemblage unanimously made Hippocrates and Epicydes prætors, and Syracuse after a brief gleam of liberty fell back into its old servitude.

*The Romans
take up their
position at
Syracuse.*

33. The Romans on receiving this news at once moved their camp from Leontini to Syracuse. Some envoys, as it happened, sent by Appius, had passed through the harbour in a five-banked vessel. A four-banked vessel which had been previously despatched was seized as soon as it entered the harbour's mouth, and the envoys themselves escaped with difficulty. And now even the laws of war as well as of peace were abandoned, when the Roman army encamped at Olympium, a temple, that is, of Jupiter, a mile and a half from the city. From this place again it was decided to send an embassy, but the embassy was prevented from entering the city by Hippocrates and Epicydes, who came out to meet it with their partisans.

*Roman embassy
to the
Syracusans.*

The Roman spokesman said that they wished to bring relief and aid, not war, to the people of Syracuse, alike to those who had fled to them for refuge out of the midst of massacre, and to those who under an overwhelming terror were enduring a slavery more horrible than exile and even than death itself. Nor would they allow the atrocious slaughter of their allies to go unavenged. If, therefore, a safe return to their own country was open for the refugees, if the authors of the massacre were surrendered, and freedom and law restored to Syracuse, war was wholly unnecessary. If, however, all this was refused, whoever might be the obstacle, on him the Romans would make war to the uttermost.

*Epicydes replies
to it unfavour-
ably.*

Epicydes replied: "If you had had any message for us, we would have given you an answer. The refugees can return as soon as the government of Syracuse shall be in the hands of those to whom you have come. Should the Romans be the aggressors, you will soon learn by actual facts that it is by no means the same thing to besiege Syracuse as to besiege Leontini." He then left the envoys and closed the gates.

*Syracuse
besieged by the
Romans.*

From that moment the siege of Syracuse began both by land and sea, landwards on the side of the Hexapylon, seawards on that of the Achradina, the walls of which are washed by the

waves. The Romans having taken Leontini in the panic of a first assault, felt confident that at some point they would force an entrance into a wide and scattered city, and so they brought up all the machinery employed in the attack of fortified places. BOOK XXIV..

34. An attempt made with such impetuous energy must have secured success but for the presence at this crisis of one man at Syracuse. This was Archimedes, an unrivalled observer of the heavens and the stars, and yet more wonderful as an inventor and contriver of military works and engines by which he could with the utmost ease baffle the enemy's most laborious efforts. The wall which was drawn along hills of various heights, lofty for the most part and difficult of approach, though there was also some lower ground accessible from the level of the valleys, he furnished with engines of every description, suited to the different localities. Marcellus assailed the fortifications of the Achradina, which, as has been before said, are washed by the sea, with sixty five-banked ships, while from his other ships archers, slingers, and light infantry also, whose peculiar missile is hard to be poised by an inexperienced hand, suffered scarcely a man to stand unwounded on the ramparts. As they wanted room to discharge their missiles, they kept the vessels at a distance from the walls. The five-banked ships were lashed together, two and two, with their sides in close contact, oars on the inner side having been removed, and then they were propelled by the outer bank of oars, like one vessel, carrying on board towers of several stories with other contrivances for breaking down the fortifications. *Archimedes: his contrivances for the defence.*

To oppose this naval attacking force Archimedes set engines of all sizes on the ramparts. Against the more distant vessels he discharged stones of prodigious weight; the nearer, he assailed with missiles, lighter indeed, but all the more incessant; last, he opened numerous apertures, a cubit in diameter, in the wall from the top to the bottom, that his men might shower their darts on the enemy, themselves unwounded. From a concealed position, through these apertures they galled the enemy, some with arrows, others with small so-called "scorpions." Some vessels came close in, so as to be too near for the range of the engines; on the bows of these vessels was dropped from a crane

BOOK XXIV. projecting over the ramparts an iron grappling-hook fastened to a strong chain, which being swiftly lowered to the ground by a ponderous leaden weight, raised the prow high in air, and set the vessel on its stern. The hook was then suddenly let go and the vessel, to the great consternation of the sailors, was dashed, as if it had fallen from the walls, with such violence on the waves, that even if it fell straight, it took in a quantity of water. Thus the naval attack was foiled, and the besiegers turned all their efforts to an assault in full force by land.

Here too, however, every point had been furnished with the same complete apparatus of engines, to which Hiero had devoted for many years time and money, and Archimedes his singular skill. The nature of the ground too helped the defence. The rock on which the foundations of the wall were laid is for the most part so steep that not only the missiles discharged from the engines, but everything that rolled down by its own weight, fell with fatal effect on the enemy. The same circumstance rendered the ascent hard to climb and the footing precarious. Finding therefore that every attempt covered them with ridicule, the besiegers held a council, in which it was decided to abandon all further assaults, and to cut off by a simple blockade the enemy's supplies by sea and land.

*The Roman
attack baffled.*

*Marcellus
recovers some of
the revolted
towns of Sicily.*

35. Marcellus meanwhile marched with about a third of his army to recover the cities which had revolted to Carthage during the late commotions. Helorus and Herbessus he recovered by voluntary surrender. Megara, which he stormed, he sacked and destroyed as a terror to all other Sicilians, especially the Syracusans. About the same time Himilco, who had long been with his fleet off the promontory of Pachynus,* landed at Heraclea (also called Minoa), with twenty-five thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and twelve elephants; a much larger force than he had previously had with his fleet off Pachynus. The fact was that as soon as Hippocrates had seized Syracuse, Himilco went to Carthage, and there, backed up by envoys from Hippocrates and by a letter from Hannibal, in which it was said that the time had arrived for the recovery of Sicily in the most glorious way, thanks also to the weight of his personal presence and counsel, he had easily prevailed on the people to send across to Sicily as large a force as they could of infantry and cavalry.

* Capo Passaro.

*Himilco arrives
with a
Carthaginian
force.*

BOOK XXIV.

* Girgenti.

*Hippocrates
marches out
of Syracuse to
join him.*

On arriving he recovered Heraclea and a few days afterwards Agrigentum,* thus kindling in other states which sided with Carthage such hopes of expelling the Romans from Sicily that at last even the besieged Syracusans raised their spirits. Believing that a portion of their forces sufficed for their city's safety, they divided among them the operations of war, Epicydes being intrusted with the direction of the defence, while Hippocrates was to join Himilco and carry on the contest with the Roman consul.

With ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry Hippocrates marched out of the city by night at a point left unguarded, and began to form a camp near the town of Acrillæ. While they were intrenching it, Marcellus came up on his way back from Agrigentum, which he had found occupied, though he had vainly put forth his utmost speed to get there before the enemy. There was nothing which he less expected than to be met at that time and place by a Syracusan army. Still, being afraid of Himilco and the Carthaginians, for whom, with the force he then had, he was by no means a match, he continued to advance with all possible vigilance, and with his troops prepared for any emergency.

He is defeated.

36. The precautions which he had so carefully taken against the Carthaginians served him, as it happened, against the Sicilians. He came on them, as they were intrenching their camp, scattered, and in disorder, and mostly unarmed, and cut off their entire infantry; their cavalry, after a slight skirmish, fled with Hippocrates to Acræ.†

† Palazzolo.

*Marcellus again
before Syracuse.*

Having by this battle checked the disposition of the Sicilians to revolt from Rome, Marcellus marched back to Syracuse. A few days afterwards Himilco, who had now been joined by Hippocrates, encamped on the river Anapus‡ at about eight miles distance.

‡ Anapo.

*Arrival of a
Carthaginian
and of a Roman
fleet.*

§ Palermo.

About the same time fifty-five Carthaginian war-ships, under Bomilcar as admiral, sailed into the great harbour of Syracuse, and a Roman fleet too of thirty five-banked vessels disembarked the first legion at Panormus.§ It might have seemed that the war had been altogether diverted from Italy, so intent was each nation on Sicily. The Roman legion which had been landed at Panormus and was on its way to Syracuse, Himilco counted on

BOOK XXIV. as his certain prey, but he was deceived as to its route. The Carthaginian took his march inland, while the legion, accompanied by the fleet, proceeded along the coast and joined Appius Claudius, who had advanced to meet it at Pachynus with a part of his army.

Not a moment longer did the Carthaginians remain at Syracuse. Bomilcar had but little confidence in his fleet, as the Romans had fully twice as many ships, and he saw, too, that useless delay would do nothing else than aggravate the scarcity that distressed his allies. He therefore sailed out to sea and crossed to Africa. Himilco too pursued Marcellus to Syracuse without result, hoping for an opportunity of engaging him before he was joined by a larger army. But finding none, and seeing his enemy safe at Syracuse within fortified lines and in great strength, he moved away his camp, not wishing to waste his time in idly watching him and looking on at the blockade of his allies. Wherever he might be invited by a prospect of revolt from Rome, there he meant to bring up his army and give courage by his presence to those who favoured his cause. First he recovered Murgantia, the citizens of which betrayed the Roman garrison. Vast stores of grain and supplies of all kinds had there been collected for the Romans.

*Revolt of
Sicilian towns
from Rome to
Carthage.*

* Castro
Giovanni.

*Proceedings at
Enna.*

37. This revolt at once encouraged the hopes of other states. Roman garrisons were either driven from their strongholds or were treacherously overpowered. Enna,* which stood on a height, of which every side was a precipice, was not only impregnable from its position, but it had also in its citadel a strong garrison commanded by a man not likely to fall a victim to any plot. Lucius Pinarius was a fearless soldier, and one who depended more on guarding himself against the possibility of being deceived than on the good faith of the Sicilians. And now his vigilance in taking every imaginable precaution had been quickened by hearing so continually of the betrayals and revolts of cities and of slaughtered garrisons. So night and day alike every point was watched and defended by guards and sentries, and not a soldier laid aside his arms or quitted his post.

Of all this the chief citizens of Enna, who had already been treating with Himilco for the surrender of the garrison, were

well aware, and seeing that the Romans were not open to any treacherous surprise, they decided that they must go to work openly. "The city and citadel," they said, "ought to be in their own control, if they had given themselves up to the Romans to enjoy freedom as allies, and not to be in their keeping as slaves. We think it fair," said they, "that the keys of the city gates should be returned to us. With good allies, their own loyalty is the strongest bond. It is only if of our own free will and without compulsion we continue in their friendship, that the people and Senate of Rome can be grateful to us."

To this the Roman officer replied that, "he had been charged with the city's defence by his commander-in-chief; that by him he had been intrusted with the keys of the city gates and with the custody of the citadel, and that he did not hold his trust by his own will or that of the citizens of Enna, but from him who had committed it to him. To quit one's post was with the Romans a capital offence, a law to which fathers had given a sanction by the execution even of their own children. The consul Marcellus was not far off; they should send envoys to him, as the matter was for his jurisdiction and decision."

Their answer was a refusal to send envoys, and they solemnly declared that if they could do nothing by words, they would seek some means of vindicating their freedom. Thereupon Pinarius replied that "if they felt reluctance to send to the consuls, they might at least allow him to meet the people in assembly, so that it might be known whether those threats expressed the mind of all the citizens, or of only a few." By general consent an assembly was proclaimed for the following day.

38. Pinarius, after this conference, retired to the citadel, and called together his soldiers. "You have heard, I presume, soldiers," he said, "how the Roman garrisons have been lately surprised and overpowered by the Sicilians. This treachery you have escaped, first through the good favour of the gods, next through your own valour, and your persistent vigilance, day and night, under arms. I wish it may be possible to get through the future also without either enduring or perpetrating unutterable horrors. This caution which we have

*Pinarius,
commander of
the Roman
garrison,
addresses his
soldiers.*

BOOK XXIV. "hitherto used has been directed against secret treachery ; but
"as that is unsuccessful, they openly and publicly demand the
"keys of the city gates. As soon as we have surrendered them,
"Enna will at once be in the hands of the Carthaginians, and
"we shall be massacred here more foully than the garrison at
"Murgantia was massacred. With difficulty I have obtained a
"single night for deliberation, in which I might inform you of
"our imminent peril. At daybreak they are to hold an assem-
"bly, with the object of accusing me and rousing the populace
"against you. So on the morrow Enna will be deluged either
"with your blood or with the blood of its citizens. If you are
"forestalled, there is no hope for you ; if you forestall them,
"there is no danger. The victory will be his who first draws
"the sword. You must therefore await the signal ready armed
"and with the keenest attention. I shall be at the assembly,
"and I will spin out the time in talking and discussing, till
"all is ready. When I give the signal by raising my gown,
"let me hear you raise a general shout ; rush on the crowd
"and strike down everything with the sword. See that no
"one survives from whom we can fear either force or fraud.
"I pray you, Mother Ceres and Proserpina, and all you other
"gods of the upper and under worlds who haunt this city, and
"these sacred lakes and groves, to stand by us, willing and
"propitious helpers, if and if only we are forming this our plan
"to escape, not to inflict, injury. I would say more to exhort
"you, soldiers, if you were going to fight with armed men.
"But it will be unarmed and unprepared men whom you will
"slaughter till you are weary. And the consul's camp is in
"the neighbourhood, so that we need fear nothing from Himilco
"and the Carthaginians."

39. After thus exhorting them he dismissed them to seek refreshment and rest. Next day some posted themselves at various points to block the streets and close all egress against the citizens, while most of them gathered round the theatre or on the ground above it, as they had been accustomed to be spectators of the assemblies. The Roman commander was then introduced to the people by the magistrates. He stated that to the consul and not to himself belonged the rightful decision of the matter, and repeated for the most part what he had said the day before,

and they, first with some hesitation, then in increasing numbers, and at last with one voice, bade him surrender the keys. As he hesitated and delayed, they assailed him with savage threats, and it seemed that fatal violence would not be deferred another instant. Then the officer gave the signal that had been arranged, with his gown. His soldiers, long eager and prepared, raised a shout and rushed down, some from above taking the assembly in its rear, while others in close array barred every outlet of the theatre. The people of Enna, pent up in the hollow, were cut down, perishing in masses, not only by the sword, but by their own efforts to flee, as they flung themselves over each other's heads, and fell in heaps, the unhurt on the wounded, and the living on the dead. Then followed a wild rush in all directions; it was as if the city had been stormed; panic and slaughter were everywhere, for the soldiers' fury, though they were cutting down an unarmed crowd, was no less fierce than if they had been infuriated by the peril of an equal foe and the excitement of battle. Enna was thus retained for Rome by an evil, but a necessary, deed.

*Massacre at
Enna.*

Marcellus, far from disproving all this, gave up the spoil of the city to his troops, in the belief that the Sicilians would be frightened into refraining from treacherous betrayals of the Roman garrisons. And, indeed, this blow falling on a city that lies in the centre of Sicily, and is famous alike for the natural defences which make its position conspicuous, and for the associations which connect every spot with the legendary Rape of Proserpine, was noised throughout the whole island almost in a single day. By this infamous massacre had been dishonoured, so all men felt, the dwelling, not of mortals only, but of gods, and therefore those who had hitherto wavered, now revolted to the Carthaginians. Hippocrates and Himilco betook themselves respectively to Murgantia and Agrigentum, on finding that it was to no purpose that they had advanced their forces at the invitation of the traitors to Enna. Marcellus returned to Leonini; there he left a small garrison, after having conveyed to his camp grain and other supplies. He then marched to the blockade of Syracuse, whence he had sent Appius Claudius to Rome to stand for the consulate, appointing in his place Quintius Crispinus to have the charge of the fleet and of the old

Sicilian feeling.

*Marcellus
marches back
to Syracuse.*

BOOK XXIV. camp. He himself meanwhile fortified and established a winter camp, five miles from Hexapylon, in a place called Leon. Such were the events which took place in Sicily up to the beginning of the winter.

*War with
Philip of
Macedon.*

40. The same summer, too, a war which had been apprehended for some time broke out with king Philip. Envoys came from Oricum to Marcus Valerius, the prætor who had charge of the fleet off Brundisium and the neighbouring shores of Calabria. They brought news, first, of an attempt made by Philip on Apollonia, to which he had sailed up the river with a hundred and twenty light two-oared vessels; next, that, finding success tardier than he had hoped, he had secretly by night marched his army to Oricum, which city, standing as it did in a plain, without the defence of walls or of an armed garrison, had been overpowered at the first assault. With these tidings they coupled a prayer for aid, begging Valerius to defend by land and sea, against one who was an undoubted enemy of Rome, the cities on the coast, which were being threatened merely because they commanded the shores of Italy.

*Oricum taken by
Philip;*

*retaken by
Valerius.*

*Apollonia
besieged by
Philip, and
rescued by a
Roman force.*

Marcus Valerius, leaving a force on the spot with Publius Valerius, his lieutenant, arrived the next day at Oricum with his fleet fully equipped and prepared, such of his troops as his war-ships could not receive having been put on board transport vessels. After a single engagement he retook the town, which was held by a small garrison left there by Philip on his departure. Envoys now came to him from Apollonia, to say that they were being besieged because they would not revolt from Rome, and that, unless a Roman force were sent, they could no longer resist the Macedonian attack. Valerius promised that he would do as they wished, and despatched ten thousand picked troops in his war-ships to the mouth of the river under an officer of allies, Quintus Nævius Crista, an energetic and experienced soldier. Having landed his men, and sent the ships back to the fleet at Oricum, his starting-point, Crista led his detachment along a road at a distance from the river, and mostly free from the king's troops, and entered the city by night, unperceived by any of the enemy. Next day they remained quiet, while he was reviewing the youth of Apollonia and the strength and resources of the city. These, when seen

BOOK XXIV.

*Philip's army surprised.**Flight of Philip.**Operations in Spain.*

and examined, inspired him with sufficient courage, and having also ascertained from his scouts the extreme carelessness and negligence of the enemy, he marched out of the town without the slightest noise in the stillness of night, and entered the enemy's camp, which was so unguarded and open that it was generally understood that a thousand men had passed the line before any one was aware of it. Had they refrained from slaughter, they might, it was certain, have reached the royal tent. The enemy was aroused by the slaughter of those who were nearest to the camp gate; then followed such universal terror and panic that, so far from a single man seizing his arms and endeavouring to drive the foe out of the camp, the king himself fled half naked, just as he was on awakening from sleep, and, in a plight hardly fit for a soldier, much less for a king, hurried to the river and his ships. Thither too rushed wildly the rest of the crowd. Somewhat less than three thousand men were either made prisoners or slain in the camp, but more were captured than killed.

When the camp had been plundered, the citizens of Apollonia brought back to their city the catapults, ballistas, and other engines which had been provided for the siege of their town, to defend its walls in the event of any like subsequent emergency. All the rest of the booty was given up to the Romans. When the news reached Oricum, Marcus Valerius at once moved his fleet to the mouth of the river, that it might not be possible for the king to make his escape on shipboard. Philip accordingly having no confidence that he would be a match for his foe in battle by land or sea, hauled his vessels ashore or burnt them, and hurried back overland to Macedonia with an army for the most part without arms or property. The Roman fleet wintered with Marcus Valerius at Oricum.

41. The military operations of this year in Spain had no decided result. Before the Romans could cross the Ebro, Mago and Hasdrubal routed an immense host of Spaniards. Spain west of the Ebro would have revolted from Rome had not Scipio rapidly pushed his army across the river, and arrived at the right moment, to confirm the wavering attachment of the allies. First, the Romans established themselves at White Camp, a spot made memorable by the fall of the great Hamilcar. It was

BOOK XXIV. a fortified position, and stores of grain had there been previously collected. But, as the whole neighbourhood swarmed with the enemy, whose cavalry had with impunity harassed the Romans on their march, slaughtering as many as two thousand loiterers or stragglers in the fields, the Romans retired towards a quiet district, and fortified a camp at Mount Victory. Thither came Cneius Scipio in full force, and Hasdrubal, too, the son of Gisgo, making in all three Carthaginian generals, with an army in all respects complete. All three now confronted the Roman camp from the opposite side of the river. Publius Scipio went out unobserved with some light troops to reconnoitre the surrounding country, but he did not elude the enemy. He would have been overpowered on open ground, had he not seized a neighbouring eminence. There he was hemmed in, and released from blockade by his brother's arrival.

* Cazlona

Castulo,* a powerful and famous Spanish town, and so closely allied to the Carthaginians that Hannibal married his wife from it, revolted to Rome. The Carthaginians attempted to storm Illiturgis, as there was a Roman garrison in the place, and it seemed that they would reduce it without fail by famine. Cneius Scipio set out with a legion lightly equipped to bring succour to his allies and to the garrison, and passing between the enemy's two camps entered the city, inflicting on them great loss. Next day he fought them in a sortie that was equally successful. In the two engagements more than twelve thousand of the enemy were slain; more than a thousand taken prisoners, with thirty-six standards. And so they retired from Illiturgis. Then they began to besiege Bigerra, a city also in alliance with Rome. Cneius Scipio came up and raised the blockade without fighting.

*Battle at
Munda.*

42. The Carthaginian camp was next moved to Munda, and thither the Romans instantly followed them. There was a pitched battle of four hours, and the Romans were winning a decisive victory when the signal for retreat was given, because Cneius Scipio had his thigh completely pierced by a javelin. A panic seized the soldiers round him who feared that the wound might be mortal. But for this hindrance there was no question that the Carthaginian camp would have been taken that day. Their soldiers and their elephants too had already been driven

into their intrenchments, close to which thirty-nine of the elephants had been transfixcd by the Roman darts. It is said that in this battle too there fell upwards of twelve thousand men, and that nearly three thousand were made prisoners, with fifty-seven standards.

BOOK XXIV.

*The
Carthaginians
are worsted, and
fall back.*

The Carthaginians then retired to the town of Aurinx, whither the Romans pursued them, taking advantage of their terror. There again Scipio engaged them, being borne into the battle on a litter. It was an undoubted victory, though less by half fell of the enemy than in the previous battle; far fewer indeed surviving to fight. But it is the nature of this people to renew and repair the losses of war, and when Mago, the commander's brother, had been despatched to raise recruits, they soon filled up the gaps in their army, and recovering their courage ventured on a fresh contest. They had for the most part new soldiers, but feeling themselves on a side which within a few days had been so repeatedly vanquished, they fought with the same spirit and same result as before. More than eight thousand men were slain; not less than a thousand made prisoners with fifty-eight standards. The spoil taken was chiefly Gallic, a profusion of golden chains and bracelets. In this battle there also fell two renowned Gallic chiefs, by name Mœniacœpto and Vismaro. Eight elephants were taken and three killed. Now that they had won these successes in Spain, the Romans at last felt shame at the town of Saguntum, which had occasioned the war, having been for nearly eight years in the enemy's power. So they retook the place, after forcibly expelling the Carthaginian garrison, and restored it to such of the old inhabitants as the violence of war had spared. The Turdetani, who had involved them in hostilities with the Carthaginians, they reduced to subjection, sold them by public auction, and razed their city.

*They are
pursued, and
again defeated.*

*Defeated a
third time.*

*The Romans
recover
Saguntum.*

43. Such were the Roman operations in Spain during the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius. As soon as new tribunes entered on their office at Rome, the censors, Publius Furius and Marcus Atilius, were at once summoned by Lucius Metellus, one of the tribunes, to appear before the popular assembly. Metellus had been quæstor in the previous year, and had then been deprived by the censors of his horse, removed from his tribe, and disfranchised, as having engaged at

*The censors
threatened with
impeachment
before the
commons.*

BOOK XXIV. Cannæ into a conspiracy to abandon Italy. By the intervention however, of the other nine tribunes, the trial of the defendants while they were in office, was forbidden, and their case was dismissed. They did not complete the census, Furius being prevented by death, and Atilius retiring from office.

*Election of
consuls.*

The consular elections were held by the consul Quintus Fabius Maximus. Both consuls were elected in their absence Quintus Fabius, the consul's son, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus for the second time. The new prætors were Marcus Atilius, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, of whom the three last were at the time curule ædiles. It is on record that that year, for the first time, dramatic games lasting four days were conducted by these officials. The ædile Tuditanus was the man who escaped at Cannæ through the midst of the enemy, when others were stupefied at the magnitude of the disaster.

B.C. 213.

The elections over, the consuls elect were, at the advice of the consul Quintus Fabius, summoned to Rome, and then entered on office. The Senate was consulted by them as to the war and the assignment of provinces to themselves and to the prætors, and as to the command of the armies.

*Distribution of
the armies.*

44. A distribution was accordingly made of the provinces and armies. The war with Hannibal was intrusted to the consuls, with two armies, one of which Sempronius himself had already commanded, Fabius having the other. Each army consisted of two legions. The prætor Marcus Æmilius, who had the jurisdiction over aliens, was to assign it to his colleague the city prætor, Marcus Atilius, and have the province of Luceria and the two legions which had been under the command of Quintus Fabius, the present consul, when prætor. To Publius Sempronius and Cneius Fulvius fell, respectively, as their provinces, Ariminum and Suessula, each having also two legions. Fabius was to command the city legions, and Tuditanus to have those of Manius Pomponius. Some commands and provincial governorships were extended, Claudius retaining Sicily within the boundaries which limited Hiero's kingdom, while the old province was to be under Lentulus as pro-prætor. Titus Otacilius had the fleet, to which no fresh troops were added. Marcus Valerius had Greece and Macedonia with the legion and fle

he commanded ; Quintus Mucius with his old army, consisting of two legions, kept Sardinia. Caius Terentius retained the legion already under his command, with Picenum. A vote was carried to raise two additional city legions and twenty thousand allies. Such were the generals, such the armies with which Rome's empire was to be simultaneously defended against a number of attacks, begun or threatened. BOOK XXIV.

Having raised the two city legions and recruited others, the consuls, before moving from Rome, expiated certain portents of which they had received information. The city walls and gates, and also a temple of Jupiter at Aricia had been struck by lightning. Moreover some illusions of the eye and ear had been taken for realities. The semblance of war ships, which had no existence, had been seen on the river at Tarracina, and at the temple of Jupiter Vicilinus in the district of Compsa the clash of arms had been heard. The river at Amiternum too had flowed with blood. These portents having been expiated in obedience to a resolution of the pontiffs, the consuls took their departure, Sempronius for Lucania, Fabius for Apulia. The father entered the camp at Suessula as his son's lieutenant ; the son went out to meet him preceded by the lictors who were silent out of respect for his high rank. The old man rode past eleven of these officers, upon which the consul bade the lictor at his side to mind his duty. The man shouted to the rider that he was to dismount, and then at last the father springing from his horse, exclaimed, "I wished to try you, my son, and see whether you really knew that you are a consul."

Portents.

45. A native of Arpi, Dasius Altinius, entered the camp secretly by night with three slaves, and promised that for a reward he would betray the town. Fabius having referred the matter to a council, some were of opinion "that he ought to be scourged and executed as a deserter, a double-minded man, and consequently a common enemy. After the disaster of Cannæ he had gone over to Hannibal and drawn Arpi into revolt, as if good faith ought to stand or fall with success. Now that Rome's power was, so to say, reviving, contrary to his hopes and wishes, it would seem still baser to pay back with treachery the victims of treachery in times past. The man who is perpetually changing his side and his sympathies,

*Altinius of Arpi
offers to betray
the place to
Fabius.*

BOOK XXIV. "is an unfaithful ally and a contemptible foe. Let him be
 "added to the betrayers of Falerii and of Pyrrhus, a third
 "warning to all deserters."

To these arguments the consul's father, Fabius, replied
 "Men under the excitement of war forget the necessities of the
 "time, and pronounce freely their judgment on each case
 "exactly as if they were at peace. Although we ought above
 "all things to strive and consider how, if possible, not a single
 "ally may revolt from the Roman people, they do not in fact
 "consider this, but contend for the duty of holding up as a
 "warning any one who may repent and look back with regret
 "on the old alliance. If people are to be allowed to forsake
 "Rome, but not to return to her, who can doubt that Rome's
 "empire will soon be deserted by its allies, and will see every
 "part of Italy united by treaty to Carthage? Still I am not the
 "man to think that we ought to put any faith in Altinius.
 "I would follow a middle course, and for the present take him
 "neither for a foe nor for an ally. I should like to see him
 "while the war lasts, kept in honourable custody near the
 "camp in some state which we can trust. The war over, we
 "must then consider whether punishment was the just due of
 "his previous defection, or pardon that of his subsequent
 "return."

*He is made
 prisoner on the
 advice of
 Fabius.*

Fabius won their assent. The man was put in chains, and
 both he and his companions became prisoners. He had brought
 with him a very considerable weight of gold, and this by ex-
 press order was to be kept in reserve for him. At Cales he
 had his liberty during the day under the surveillance of at-
 tendants; by night he was in confinement under their watch.
 People began at first to miss him at his home at Arpi and to
 inquire after him; soon rumours spread through the whole town
 and caused an uproar, men believing that they had lost their chief
 citizen. In the dread of a revolution envoys were instantly
 despatched to Hannibal. At this the Carthaginian was by no
 means displeased, for he had long held the man in suspicion,
 one whose loyalty was doubtful, and now he had got a pretext
 for seizing and selling the property of a particularly rich citizen.
 But as he wished to seem to yield to anger rather than
 avarice, he added cruelty to rapacity. He summoned to him

camp the wife and children of Altinius, and having held an inquiry, first into the circumstances of his flight, then into the amount of gold and silver left in his house, and ascertained all these particulars, he burnt them alive.

BOOK XXIV.

*His wife and
children burnt
alive by
Hannibal.*

46. Fabius quitted Suessula and first applied himself vigorously to the siege of Arpi. He encamped about half a mile from the city, and having taken a near view of the situation of the city and its walls, he resolved to attack it by preference where it was most strongly fortified, as being there most carelessly guarded. Having provided everything used in attacking towns, he picked out the flower of the centurions from his entire army, putting them under the command of tribunes, gallant officers all of them, and assigning them six hundred soldiers, a sufficiently large force, as he judged. They had orders from him to bring up scaling-ladders to the place selected, as soon as the signal of the fourth night watch had sounded. The gate there was low and narrow, leading to an unfrequented street through a deserted part of the town. When they had scaled the gate with their ladders, they were to hasten to the wall and forcibly break open the bars from the inside, and as soon as they were in possession of a portion of the town, they were to give a signal by trumpet for the rest of the army to advance. Fabius assured them that he would have everything prepared and ready.

*Fabius besieges
and takes Arpi.*

All this was promptly done. What seemed likely to prove a hindrance to the attempt mainly contributed to conceal it. A storm which began at midnight drove the guards and sentries to slip away from their post and seek shelter in the houses. At first the loud sound of an unusually heavy rain drowned the noise of the men who were working at the gate; afterwards, when it fell more softly and regularly on the ear, it lulled many that heard it to slumber. As soon as the Romans had possession of the gate, trumpeters were stationed at equal intervals along the street and directed to sound a blast to give notice to the consul. This having been done, as already arranged, he ordered a general advance, and shortly before dawn entered the city through the gate that was broken down.

47. This at last awoke the enemy; the storm too was now ceasing, and day was breaking. Hannibal had a garrison in

BOOK XXIV. the town of about five thousand men, and the citizens themselves had equipped three thousand soldiers. These were the first set to oppose the enemy by the Carthaginians, who feared treachery in their rear. The fight began in darkness and in narrow streets, the Romans having occupied not only the thoroughfares, but also the buildings which adjoined the gate, to save themselves from being assailed and wounded from the housetops. Some of the inhabitants and some of the Romans recognised each other, and this gave rise to conversations in which the Romans asked what the citizens wanted. "What offence had the Romans given them, or what had the Carthaginians done for them that they, an Italian people, should be waging war for aliens and barbarians against their old allies, and endeavouring to make Italy pay taxes and tribute to Africa?" The people of Arpi excused themselves by saying that they had been sold in utter ignorance by their chief citizens to the Carthaginian; that they had been, in fact, the prey and the victims of a few men. A beginning once made, many more took part in these conversations, till at last the governor of Arpi was conducted by his fellow citizens to the consul; pledges were given amid the standards and the ranks, and the towns-people suddenly turned their arms against the Carthaginians in favour of Rome. Some Spaniards too, to the number of little less than a thousand, carried over their standards to the consul simply bargaining with him for the dismissal of the Carthaginian garrison without injury. The city-gates were thrown open for the Carthaginian soldiers, who were let go with an assurance of protection and reached Hannibal at Salapia in safety. Arpi was restored to the Romans without the destruction of a single life but that of one man, a traitor long before and recently a deserter. Orders were given that the Spanish troops should be served with double rations, and the State often availed itself of their brave and faithful service.

While one consul was in Apulia and the other in Lucania a hundred and twelve noble Campanian knights, who had started from Capua by permission of the magistrates on the pretext of plundering the enemy's territory, came to the Roman camp overlooking Suessula. They told a sentry who they were and said that they wished to have an interview with the prætor.

Cneius Fulvius was in command of the camp, and on his receiving the message he ordered twelve out of their number to be conducted thither, unarmed. When he heard their request (they asked merely that on the recovery of Capua their property might be restored to them), he received them all under his protection. The other prætor, Sempronius Tuditanus, stormed the town of Aternum,* in which more than seven thousand men were made prisoners, and a considerable amount of copper and silver coin taken.

*Capture of
Aternum.*

* Pescara.

At Rome a dreadful fire lasted two nights and one entire day. All between the Salinæ and the Carmental gate, including the Æquimælian and Jugarian quarters, was levelled to the ground. Within the temples of Fortune, of Mother Matula, and of Hope, which are outside the gate, the fire spread widely, and destroyed many objects, both sacred and profane.

Fire at Rome.

48. The same year the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, being successful in Spain, where they recovered many old and won some new allies, extended their designs to Africa. Syphax, king of the Numidians, had suddenly become a foe to Carthage, and to him they despatched three centurions as envoys, to negotiate a friendship and alliance. He was to be assured that, if he would persist in constant hostility to Carthage, he would have the thanks of the Senate and people of Rome, who would make an effort to repay his services at a seasonable moment and with good interest. The barbarian prince welcomed the embassy. He had a conversation with the envoys on the science of war, and on hearing the talk of the veterans he perceived, by comparing such a well-organised system with his own, how many things there were of which he knew nothing. Then, desirous of having their aid as good and faithful allies, he first begged that "two of the envoys might report their negotiations to their commanding officers, one remaining with him to be his instructor in military matters. For his Numidian people did not understand infantry fighting, and were skilful only with their horses. It was with these that their forefathers from the earliest beginnings of their nation had waged their wars, and it was to these that Numidians were habituated from boyhood. But he had an enemy who trusted to the might of his infantry, and if he wished to be his match in

*Affairs in
Spain.*

*Roman embassy
to Syphax, king
of Numidia.*

BOOK XXIV. "solid strength, he must provide himself with men on foot, "and for this his kingdom had an abundant population. But "of the science of arming, equipping, and drilling them he "was utterly ignorant; just as in a casually collected crowd, "all was disorder and left to chance."

The envoys replied that they would do as he wished at the present moment, and received a promise that, should their commander not approve the result, the man was to be at once sent back. Quintus Statorius was the name of the envoy who stayed with the king. With the two Romans the Numidian himself despatched envoys to put himself under the protection of the Roman generals. He further gave these envoys instructions forthwith to encourage desertion among all Numidians serving as auxiliaries in Carthaginian garrisons. Statorius, out of the numerous youth of the country, raised a force of infantry for the king. This he disciplined as nearly as possible in Roman fashion, teaching the men by drill and by marching them under arms to follow the standards and keep their ranks. So thoroughly did he habituate them to camp-work and proper military duties, that the king soon had as much confidence in his infantry as in his cavalry, and he defeated his Carthaginian enemy in a regular action in which the armies met on level ground. To the Romans also in Spain the visit of the king's envoys was of great service, as on the rumour of their arrival there began to be numerous desertions on the part of the Numidians. It was thus that a friendship was formed between Syphax and the Romans. The Carthaginians, on hearing this, at once despatched an embassy to Gala, a king who reigned in another part of Numidia, the inhabitants of which are called Massyli.

*Syphax becomes
a friend to the
Romans.*

Masinissa.

49. Gala had a son Masinissa, seventeen years of age, yet a youth of such character that it was already evident that he would make his kingdom larger and more powerful than what he might have inherited. It was argued by the envoys: "that, as Syphax had allied himself with Rome, to make "himself more formidable to the kings and nations of "Africa, it would be better for Gala too to join the Cartha- "ginians as soon as possible, before Syphax could cross into "Spain or the Romans into Africa. Syphax could be crushed

"while as yet he had nothing from his treaty with Rome except the name of it." Gala, as his son insisted on the war, was easily persuaded to send an army, which, united to the legions of Carthage, defeated Syphax in a great battle. Thirty thousand men, it is said, fell in the action. Syphax fled from the field with a few horsemen to the Maurusii, a remote tribe dwelling near the ocean, opposite to Gades. His renown gathered the barbarians round him from all parts, and he soon equipped an immense host. But before he could cross with it the narrow strait which parted him from Spain, Masinissa arrived with his victorious army. There, without any aid from Carthage, he carried on the war by himself with Syphax and won great glory.

BOOK XXI

*His victory
over Syphax**Flight of
Syphax from
Numidia.*

Nothing memorable took place in Spain except that the Roman generals secured for themselves the services of the Celtiberian youth on the same terms for which an arrangement had been made with the Carthaginians. They also sent more than three hundred Spaniards of the highest rank into Italy to excite disaffection among such of their countrymen as were serving among Hannibal's auxiliaries. The only event of the year in Spain remarkable enough to be recorded is that the Romans never had a single mercenary soldier in their camp till they now had the Celtiberi.

*The Romans
employ
mercenaries for
the first time.*

BOOK XXV.

B.C. 213, 212.

BOOK XXV. I. DURING these operations in Africa and Spain, Hannibal wasted the summer in the country round Tarentum in the hope of having the city betrayed into his hands. Meanwhile some obscure towns of the Tarentines and Sallentines revolted to him. At the same time in Bruttium out of twelve communities which in the previous year had gone over to the Carthaginians, two, Consentia and Thurii, returned to their loyalty to Rome. And more would have returned, had not Pomponius Veientanius, an officer of allies, who by some successful marauding expeditions in Bruttian territory had come to be looked upon as a regular commander, engaged Hanno with an army of hastily levied recruits. A great multitude of men, no better however than a disorderly rabble of rustics and slaves, were slain or captured in the battle. The least part of our loss was that the officer in command was captured along with the other prisoners, a man who on this occasion provoked a rash fight, and who previously, as a tax-farmer, had by all manner of evil practices been unfaithful and injurious to the State and to the tax-farming companies.

The consul Sempronius fought several small actions in Lucania, but not one worth recording. He also took by storm some obscure towns of the Lucanians. The longer the war was protracted, while victory and defeat produced their varying effect on the minds as well as on the fortunes of men, an intense superstition, for the most part of foreign origin, fastened itself on the country, and it seemed that a sudden change had passed over either mankind or the gods. It was not only in

*Hannibal in the
neighbourhood
of Tarentum.*

*Superstition
at Rome.*

the secrecy of the private house that Roman ritual was disused ; it was even in the public streets, in the forum and the Capitol that there were crowds of women who in their sacrifices and prayers to the gods departed from the customs of their country. Sacrificers and soothsayers had enslaved men's understandings, and the number of their victims was swelled by the rural population whom distress and terror drove into the capital out of fields wasted by a long war and in hostile occupation. Profit was easily made out of the delusions of others, and they sought it as if they were practising a recognised art. First, whispers of indignation among honest men began to be heard, and soon the matter came under the notice of the Senators and attracted public remonstrance. The ædiles and commissioners of police were severely censured by the Senate for not stopping the proceedings, but when they attempted to expel the crowd from the forum and sweep away the sacrificial preparations, they barely escaped outrage. When it was evident that the evil was too mighty to be checked by the inferior magistrates, Marcus Atilius, the city-prætor, was intrusted by the Senate with the duty of delivering the people from these superstitions. He read the Senate's decree before a popular assembly, and also issued a proclamation that "whoever possessed any prophetic books or prayers or a written form of sacrifice, was to bring to him all such books and writings before the first of April ; and that no one was to sacrifice in a public or sacred place according to any new or foreign ritual."

2. Several state-priests also died that year, among them, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, chief pontiff, Caius Papirius Maso, son of Caius Maso, pontiff, Furius Philus, augur, and Caius Papirius Maso, son of Lucius Maso, one of the ten commissioners of sacred rites. The places of Lentulus and Papirius were filled, respectively, by Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Cneius Servilius Cæpio ; Lucius Quinctius Flaminius was appointed augur, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus to the commission of ten. The time was now at hand for the election of consuls ; but, as it did not seem well to withdraw the consuls from the war with which they were occupied, the consul Tiberius Sempronius nominated, for the holding of the elections, Caius

BOOK XXV.

*Its strange effects.**The Senate interferes.**New consuls.*

BOOK XXV. Claudius Cento, dictator, who made Quintus Fulvius Flaccus master of the horse. On the first lawful day the dictator appointed as consuls Flaccus, master of the horse, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who as prætor had had the province of Sicily. Cneius Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Junius Silanus and Publius Cornelius Sulla were then elected prætors. The election over, the dictator quitted office.

Cornelius Scipio ædile. His election opposed by the tribunes.

That year Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, was curule ædile with Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. When he was standing for the ædileship, he was opposed by the tribunes of the people, who said that no account ought to be taken of him, as he was not yet of the legal age required in a candidate. Scipio's rejoinder was, "If all the citizens of Rome wish to elect me ædile, my years are sufficient." Upon this the people hurried with such enthusiasm to vote in their different tribes that the tribunes at once relinquished their attempt. The munificence of the ædiles consisted in a magnificent celebration, considering the resources of the period, of the Roman games, which were repeated for one day, and in a distribution of olive oil in each street, to the amount of a congius.* The plebeian ædiles, Lucius Villius Tappulus and Marcus Fundanius Fundulus, prosecuted some married women before the commons for unchastity. Several of them were condemned and exiled. There was a celebration of the plebeian games, and these were repeated for two days, and a festival in honour of Jupiter, on occasion of the games.

Celebration of the Roman games with great splendour.

* Three quarts.

B.C. 212.

3. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius entered on the consulate, the former for his third time. The prætors, too, had their provinces allotted to them; Publius Cornelius Sulla having the home and foreign jurisdiction, which previously had been shared between two, while Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Claudius Nero, and Marcus Junius Silanus had, respectively, Apulia, Suessula and Etruria. To the consuls was assigned the war with Hannibal, each having two legions, which one was to receive from Quintus Fulvius, the consul of the preceding year, the other from Fulvius Centumalus. Of the prætors, Flaccus was to have the legion in Luceria under Æmilius, and Nero those in Picenum under Terentius, and each prætor was himself to raise recruits for them. Marcus Junius had for a check

Distribution of the Roman armies.

on Etruria the city-legions levied the year before. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus had their commands in the provinces of Lucania and Gaul with their armies continued to them, and the same with Lentulus in that part of Sicily which was the old province; Marcus Marcellus had Syracuse and what had been the kingdom of Hiero; Otacilius had the fleet; Marcus Valerius, Mucius Scævola and the two Cornelii, Publius and Cneius, had, respectively, Greece, Sardinia, and Spain. In addition to the old armies, two city-legions were raised by the consuls, making up a total of twenty-three legions for that year.

Twenty-three legions in all.

The act of one Marcus Postumius Pyrgensis, all but resulting in a serious shock to the State, retarded the recruiting work of the consuls. Postumius was a tax-farmer, who for many years had had no rival at Rome in fraud and rapacity with the sole exception of Pomponius Veientanus, the man who, when heedlessly plundering Lucanian territory, was captured the preceding year by the Carthaginians under Hanno. Speculating on the public risk from storms in respect of the supplies sent to the armies, these two men had invented stories of shipwrecks. Even the losses which they had truly reported had been occasioned by their own dishonesty, not by mishap. They had put a few things of small value on board old and broken vessels, which they sank at sea, the sailors being rescued in boats ready provided, and then falsely declared that the cargo was many times greater. Information of the fraud had been given in the previous year to the prætor Marcus Atilius, who had reported it to the Senate. It had not however been formally censured by any resolution of the Senate, as the Senators did not wish at such a crisis to have the tax-farming class irritated. The commons were more sternly resolved to punish the fraud. Two of their tribunes, Spurius and Lucius Carvilius, perceiving what an odious and shameful business it was, were at last roused to propose a fine of two hundred thousand pounds of copper on Postumius. When the day came for debating it, and there was an assembly of the commons so crowded that its numbers could hardly be contained within the open space of the Capitol, it seemed after the case had been heard that the only hope for the man was the possibility that

Fraud of a tax-farmer.

Debate in an assembly of the commons about punishment.

BOOK XXV. Caius Servilius Casca, one of the tribunes of the people, who was a near relative of Postumius, might interpose his veto, before the tribes were summoned to vote. When the evidence had been given, the tribunes cleared the assembly, and the voting-urn was brought in, to determine the order in which the enfranchised Latins were to vote. Meanwhile the tax-farmers kept urging Casca to stop public business for that day. The commons protested. Casca, with both fear and shame working on his mind, happened to be sitting in the front at one of the angles of the hustings. Finding that there was little help to be got from him, the tax-farmers, to disturb the proceedings, rushed in a compact body through the empty space from which the people had been cleared, angrily upbraiding both commons and tribunes. Matters seemed likely to end in violence, when Fulvius, the consul, said to the tribunes, "Do you not see that you are reduced to the level of ordinary citizens, and that things have come to the verge of insurrection, unless you promptly dismiss the assembly of the commons?"

*Rage of the
tax-farmers.*

*Debate in the
Senate.*

4. The commons were dismissed, the Senate summoned, and a motion brought forward by the consuls on this violent disturbance of the popular assembly and the audacious conduct of the tax-farmers. "Marcus Furius Camillus," it was urged, "a man whose exile was followed by the downfall of Rome, had allowed himself to be condemned by his angry fellow-countrymen. The decemvirs before him, under whose laws they lived to that day, and many leading men of the State after their time had submitted to a judgment of the commons. Postumius Pyrgensis had wrested from the Roman people their voting-rights, had abruptly terminated their assembly, had reduced tribunes to ordinary citizens, had arrayed an army against the Roman people, had seized a position with the object of cutting off the tribunes from the commons and of hindering the tribes from being summoned to the poll. Nothing had kept men from a bloody conflict but the forbearance of the magistrates in having yielded at the moment to the fury and audacity of a few, in having allowed themselves and the Roman people to be conquered, last, in having terminated of their own free will the elections which the

"accused man was about to stop by force of arms, so that not
 "a pretext was given to those who sought a conflict." BOOK XXV.

Every man of high character urged these arguments as forcibly as so monstrous an affair required, and the Senate decided that the proceeding was a public offence, and of most injurious precedent. Upon this the two Carvilli, the tribunes, at once dropped all debate about a fine and indicted Postumius on a capital charge. Unless he could find bail, he was by their order to be arrested by the officer and thrown into prison. Postumius found bail and did not appear. The tribunes put the matter to the commons, and the commons thus decided: "If Postumius does not appear before the first of May, and "when summoned does not answer to his name on that day, "and has no excuse to plead, we regard him as being in exile, "and we will that his property be sold and he himself be "outlawed." The tribunes next proceeded to indict on a capital charge various persons who had been promoters of the riot and disturbance, and to require bail. At first those who did not find it, and then those who could find it, were thrown into prison. Many went away into exile to avoid the danger of this penalty.

*Punishment of
the culprit and
his accomplices.*

5. Such was the result of the frauds of the tax-farmers and of the audacity which strove to screen them. An election was then held to appoint a supreme pontiff. It was conducted by a newly elected pontiff, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. There was a very sharp contest between three candidates; Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, who previously had been twice consul and censor; Titus Manlius Torquatus, also distinguished by two consulates and the censorship; lastly, Publius Licinius Crassus, who was likewise about to stand for the ædileship. Young as he was, Crassus prevailed over his rivals, notwithstanding their age and distinctions. For a hundred and twenty years before his time no one but Publius Cornelius Calussa had been elected supreme pontiff without having sat in a curule chair.

*Election of a
supreme pontiff.*

The consuls finding it difficult to complete the levy, as the scanty number of the youth barely sufficed both to form the new city-legions and to recruit the old, the Senate forbade them to relinquish the attempt, and directed the appointment of two boards of three commissioners. One of

*Difficulty in
raising fresh
troops*

BOOK XXV. these boards was to pass under review the total number of freeborn men in all districts and in all market and assize-towns within fifty miles of Rome ; the other, in all such places beyond that distance. They were to make a soldier of everybody who seemed to have strength sufficient to bear arms, even if he were not of military age. The tribunes of the commons, if they thought fit, were to be free to propose that pay should be given on the same scale to those who had taken the oath at a less age than seventeen, as if they had become soldiers when upwards of seventeen or even older. In accordance with this resolution of the Senate two boards of commissioners were elected, and raised recruits from all freeborn men throughout the country districts.

At the same time a despatch from Marcellus in Sicily, about certain demands of the soldiers who were serving with Publius Lentulus, was read in the Senate. These troops were the relics of the defeat at Cannæ, and had been sent away to Sicily, as before related, on the understanding that they were not to be brought back to Italy till the end of the Punic war.

6. By the permission of Lentulus the principal cavalry officers and centurions of this army, with the best of the legionary infantry, sent envoys to Marcellus in his winter quarters. One of these envoys, being permitted to speak, said :
 “ We should have come to you in Italy, Marcus Marcellus, when
 “ you were made consul, the moment that a harsh, not to say an
 “ unjust, resolution of the Senate was passed respecting us, but
 “ we hoped that we were being sent to a province which the
 “ extinction of its royal family had disorganised, to fight in
 “ earnest against both Sicilians and Carthaginians. We hoped,
 “ too, by our blood and wounds to atone to the Senate for the past.
 “ just as within the memory of our fathers the captives taken by
 “ Pyrrhus atoned by fighting against Pyrrhus himself. And yet
 “ Senators, what have we done to have deserved your anger
 “ then, or to deserve it now ? I feel that I am looking on both
 “ the consuls and on the whole Senate when I look on you
 “ Marcus Marcellus, for had we had you as our consul at Cannæ
 “ far better had been the plight both of the State and o
 “ ourselves.

*Envoys to
 Marcellus from
 the troops of
 Lentulus. Their
 request.*

“ Let me, I pray you, clear our army of the guilt with which we are charged, before I complain of our present condition. If we were undone at Cannæ, not by the wrath of heaven, not by that destiny whose law binds all things human in a fixed order, but through some misconduct, whose misconduct, I ask, was it? That of the soldiers or of the generals? As a soldier I will myself never say a word about my commander, knowing as I do that he was specially thanked by the Senate for not having despaired of the State, and received an extension of his command for all his future years after his flight from Cannæ. And the other survivors of that disaster, whom we had as officers, are, we have heard, seeking or holding posts of honour and governing provinces. Do you thus readily make allowance for yourselves, Senators, and for your children, while for poor wretches like us you have no pity? Was it no disgrace for a consul and other men of rank to fly, when flight was their only hope; was it only common soldiers that you sent to a certain doom in the battle-field? At Allia almost a whole army fled. At the Caudine Forks, without so much as an attempt at fighting, our troops surrendered their arms to the enemy. I say nothing of other shameful defeats of our armies. Still, so far were those armies from having any disgrace fixed on them, that Rome was recovered by the very army which had fled from Allia to Veii, and those legions of the Caudine Forks which had returned to Rome without their arms were sent back into Samnium and passed under the yoke that same enemy who had exulted in inflicting on them that same dishonour. And can indeed the army of Cannæ be charged by any man with flight and panic, when there fell more than fifty thousand men, an army from which the consul escaped with seventy troopers, an army of which none survive but such as were left by an enemy weary with slaughter? When ransom was refused to the captives, we were universally praised for having reserved ourselves for our country, for having returned to the consul at Venusia, and created the appearance of a regular army.

“ As it is, we are in a worse plight than prisoners were with our forefathers. They suffered a change only of arms, of military rank, of the place where they were quartered in camp,

BOOK XXV.

“ and all was recovered by them when once they had rendered
 “ a service to the State and fought one successful battle. Not
 “ one of them was sent into exile ; not one lost the prospect of
 “ obtaining in due time his discharge ; sooner or later they could
 “ face an enemy, and end life or disgrace for ever in fighting
 “ him. We, against whom nothing can be said but that it was
 “ our fault that a single Roman soldier survived from the field of
 “ Cannæ, we have been banished far away from our homes in
 “ Italy, and, what is more, from the very sight of an enemy.
 “ We are to grow old in exile, that we may have no hope, no
 “ opportunity of wiping out our disgrace, of appeasing the
 “ wrath of the citizens, or, finally, of dying with honour. We
 “ are not asking an end of our ignominy or a reward of our
 “ valour ; merely, that we may be allowed to test our spirit and
 “ put our valour into action. Hardship and danger are what
 “ we seek, that we may do the work of men and of soldiers.
 “ It is now the second year of the war in Sicily, which is being
 “ waged with a tremendous struggle. Some cities the Cartha-
 “ ginians, some the Romans, are storming ; infantry and cavalry
 “ are meeting in the shock of battle ; at Syracuse the conflict
 “ rages on sea and land. We hear the shouts of the combatants
 “ and the din of arms, while we ourselves sit in idleness, as if
 “ we had neither hands nor weapons. Legions made up of slaves
 “ under the consul Tiberius Sempronius have repeatedly fought
 “ pitched battles with the enemy. They have the reward of
 “ their service, freedom and citizenship. Count us at least as
 “ slaves who have been purchased for this war. Suffer us to
 “ encounter the foe, and to earn freedom by fighting. Do you
 “ wish to test our valour on sea, on land, on the battle-field, or
 “ in the siege of cities ? All that is worst in toil and peril we
 “ earnestly beg for ourselves, that what should have been done
 “ at Cannæ may be done as soon as may be now. For all our
 “ life since that day has been doomed to disgrace.”

*Marcellus refers
 them to the
 Senate.*

7. Having thus spoken they fell at the knees of Marcellus. He replied that the matter was not within his jurisdiction or power ; he would write to the Senate and act wholly according to their decision. His letter was received by the new consuls and read out by them before the Senate. After deliberation on the subject of the despatch the Senate thus decided :

“They could not at all see why the State should be intrusted to the soldiers who had deserted their comrades when fighting at Cannæ. If Marcellus, the pro-consul, thought otherwise, let him act as the public good and his own loyalty might seem to demand. Only, not one of those soldiers must be exempt from any military duty, or receive a military reward for his valour, or be brought back to Italy, as long as the enemy was in the country.”

BOOK XXV.
*Decision of the
Senate.*

Elections were then held by the city-prætor in obedience to a resolution of the Senate and a vote of the Commons, and in these were appointed five commissioners for the repair of the walls and towers, and two boards of three commissioners each, one of which was to collect carefully all things sacred, and register all votive offerings, the other to rebuild the temples of Fortune and of Mother Matuta within the Carmental Gate, and the temple of Hope without, which in the previous year had been destroyed by fire.

Hideous storms occurred. On the Alban Mount there was a continuous rain of stones for two days. Several places were struck by lightning, two temples on the Capitol, the intrenchments of the camp at several points overlooking Suessula, and two sentries were killed. The walls at Cumæ and some towns were not merely struck by lightning, but were thrown down. At Reate a huge stone appeared to fly; the sun was unusually red and like blood. In consideration of these portents there was one day of public prayer, and for several days the consuls gave their attention to matters of religion, during which same time there was a nine days' religious service.

*Storms and
portents.*

That Tarentum might revolt had long been a matter of hope to Hannibal, and of apprehension to the Romans, and now an opportunity of hastening it from without chanced to present itself. One Phileas, a Tarentine, who had been a long time at Rome under the pretext of being an envoy, a man of a restless temper which ill brooked the tedious idleness in which he saw himself growing old, found means of access to the hostages from Tarentum. They were detained in custody in the Hall of Liberty under a somewhat careless watch, as it was neither for their own interest nor for that of their community to play the Romans false. Having tempted them in a series of interviews

BOOK XXV. and bribed the warders of the Hall, Phileas got them out of their confinement in the first darkness of night, and becoming himself the companion of their secret journey fled from Rome. At daybreak their escape was known over the whole city. Men were sent in pursuit, who arrested them at Tarracina and brought them back. They were taken to the place of public assembly, scourged, and then thrown from the Rock, with the full assent of the people.

*Conspiracy at
Tarentum to
revolt from
Rome.*

8. The cruelty of this punishment stirred the anger of the two noblest Greek communities in Italy. It was felt not only publicly, but privately, in fact by all who were connected by kindred or friendship with those who had been so foully destroyed. Among these were about thirteen young nobles of Tarentum, who now, led by two men, Nico and Philemenus, conspired together. Before attempting anything, they thought it well to communicate with Hannibal, and having left the city by night on the pretext of a hunting expedition they started to go to him. When they were not far from his camp, all but Nico and Philemenus hid themselves in a wood near the road; these two went on to the sentries, by whom they were arrested, the very thing they themselves desired, and were conducted into Hannibal's presence. They explained the reasons of their action and what they proposed to do; Hannibal praised them warmly, loaded them with promises, suggested that, to convince their fellow-townsmen that they had really come out for plunder, they should drive to the city the Carthaginian herds sent out to pasture. They might do this, they were assured, in safety, without any fighting. People saw the plunder carried off by the young men, and wondered less and less at the repetition of their daring act. In a second interview with Hannibal they bound him by a promise that the Tarentines, remaining free, should retain their own laws and all which belonged to them, that they should pay no tax to the Carthaginian, or admit a garrison against their will; that all supplies furnished to the garrison should be at Carthaginian disposal. Such was the understanding, and then Philemenus made his practice of leaving the city at night and returning to it still more frequent. He was also noted for his devotion to hunting, and had his dogs with him with ever preparation for the chase. He mostly took something, o

carried it off from the enemy according to the arrangement, and this he would give to the officer of the garrison or to the sentries at the gates. They thought that he went to and fro chiefly by night from fear of the foe. When the affair became so habitual that at whatever time of the night he gave a signal by whistling, the gate was opened, Hannibal decided that it was time to act. He was three days' march distant, and pretended that he was ill, to lessen the surprise at his having his camp so long in one and the same place. The Romans in garrison at Tarentum had by this time ceased to regard with suspicion his inaction and delay.

*Hannibal
advances on
Tarentum.*

9. Having decided to march on Tarentum, he picked out ten thousand infantry and cavalry, whose nimbleness of frame and lightness of accoutrements specially fitted them, as he thought, for the expedition, and then moved his camp. About eight hundred Numidian troopers were sent on in advance, with orders to scour the neighbouring roads, and examine every point, that none of the rustic population might observe unseen the march of his army. All who were in front of them were to be forcibly brought back; all whom they met were to be cut down, that to the inhabitants of the district they might have the appearance of a marauding band rather than of a military force. Hannibal himself, making a forced march, encamped about fifteen miles from Tarentum. Without so much as telling his men where they were going, he called them together and merely bade them march straight forward, allowing no one to turn aside or to break his rank; above all things, they were to await orders with the keenest attention. Nothing was to be done but by the direction of their officers, and at the right moment he would plainly state what he wished to accomplish.

At nearly the same hour a rumour had reached Tarentum that a few Numidian horsemen were ravaging the country and had spread panic far and wide among the country folk. These tidings simply moved the Roman commander to order a detachment of his cavalry to sally forth next day at dawn and stop the enemy's ravages. For anything beyond, so slack was his vigilance in the matter that this rapid advance of the Numidians was actually taken as a proof that Hannibal and his army had not stirred out of their camp. At dead of night he moved,

BOOK XXV. with Philemenus for his guide, who had his usual load of what he had taken in the chase. The rest of the traitors meanwhile awaited the moment on which they had agreed. The understanding had been that Philemenus, as he brought in his spoils from the hunting-field at the usual little gate, was to admit some armed men, while Hannibal was to advance from another quarter on the Temenid gate. This, from the interior, looked eastwards, by the tombs which stand inside the walls. As Hannibal approached the gate, he lit up, by previous arrangement, a fire which blazed brightly. The same signal was returned by Nico, and then the flame on both sides was extinguished. In silence he marched his men to the gate. Nico suddenly fell on the sleeping sentries, slew them in their beds, and threw open the gate, upon which Hannibal entered with his infantry, his cavalry having been ordered to halt, ready to meet the enemy in the open plain, where circumstances might require.

Philemenus meantime on the other side was drawing near the little gate by which he had been wont to pass to and fro. His well-known voice and the now familiar signal roused the sentry; and the postern was opened to him as he exclaimed that he was struggling under the weight of an enormous beast. Two youths were bearing in a wild boar, and he himself followed with a lightly-equipped huntsman; as the sentry in astonishment at its size turned, without a thought, towards the bearers, he ran the man through with a hunting-spear. Thereupon about thirty armed men entered, cut down the rest of the sentries, and burst open the nearest gate. Instantly the army in regular array rushed in; the soldiers were quietly marched to the forum and joined Hannibal, who, taking two thousand Gauls in three divisions, bade his Tarentine confederates disperse themselves through the city, and secure the most frequented thoroughfares. As soon as disturbances began, the Romans were to be indiscriminately slaughtered, and the townsfolk spared. To render this last possible, Hannibal directed the young Tarentines to bid any of their fellow-citizens whom they might see at a distance remain quiet and silent, and fear nothing.

*He gets
possession of
the city.*

10. All was now tumult and uproar, such as is usual at the storm of a city, but what the occasion was, no one knew for certain. The Tarentines thought that the Romans had suddenly

rushed out to pillage the town. The Romans imagined that the townspeople had excited a riot with some treacherous design. The officer of the garrison who had been roused from sleep at the first beginning of the tumult fled to the harbour; there getting into a light boat, he was carried round to the citadel. Alarm too was caused by the notes of a trumpet heard from the theatre; for it was a Roman trumpet which the traitors had provided for this purpose, and being blown unskilfully by a Greek it rendered it uncertain who was giving the signal or for whom it was meant. At daybreak the Romans recognised the Carthaginian and Gallic arms, and felt no more doubt, while the Greeks, seeing the Romans lie slaughtered everywhere, knew that Hannibal had taken the city.

*Those of the
Romans who
escape take
refuge in the
citadel.*

As the light grew clearer, such Romans as had survived the massacre having sought refuge in the citadel, and the tumult gradually subsiding, Hannibal ordered the Tarentines to assemble unarmed. All came but those who had retired into the citadel, following the Romans to share with them their fate, whatever it might be. Hannibal then spoke graciously to the Tarentines, and appealed to his treatment of those of their fellow-citizens whom he had taken prisoners at Trasumennus or at Cannæ. He inveighed at the same time against the arrogant rule of the Romans, and bade every man go back to his home and inscribe his name on his door. Any house not so inscribed, he declared, he would at a given signal instantly order to be plundered. He would hold as an enemy any person who, lodging with a Roman citizen (the Romans occupied separate houses), should thus inscribe his name. The assembly was then dismissed, and the doors having been marked with notices distinguishing between friendly and hostile houses, there was a wild rush to plunder the quarters in which the Romans lodged, and the spoil was considerable.

II. Next day Hannibal marched his men to an attack on the citadel. But the sea, as he perceived, which washed the greater part of it like a peninsula, and exceedingly high cliffs, with a wall and fosse fencing it off from the town, were defences rendering it impregnable alike to assault or to siege works. He resolved, therefore, to cut off communication between the town and the citadel by intrenchments. Thus the charge of pro-

*Hannibal
prepares to
assault the
citadel.*

BOOK XXV. tecting the Tarentines would not detain him from matters of more importance, and, as he left them with a strong garrison, the Romans would not be able to attack them from the citadel whenever they chose. Nor was he without the hope of a chance of fighting the Romans, should they attempt to stop the work, or, should they venture on a desperate sortie, of inflicting on them such loss as should so weaken the garrison that the Tarentines would be easily able to defend their city by themselves.

As soon as the work was begun, one of the gates was suddenly thrown open, and the Romans made an attack on the intrenching parties. A picquet on guard in front of the lines allowed itself to be driven in, that the enemy, growing bolder with success, might pursue them as they fell back in greater force and to a greater distance. Then at a given signal there was a rush on all sides of the Carthaginian soldiers whom Hannibal had held back in full readiness for the purpose. The Romans could not sustain the charge, but the narrow space, entangled as it was, partly by the works already begun, partly by preparations for works, obstructed them in their hasty flight. Very many flung themselves into the fosse, and more were slain in the flight than in the engagement. The work was then begun afresh without any opposition. A vast fosse was drawn and intrenchments thrown up on its inner side; at a moderate distance from this and in the same direction, Hannibal prepared to add a wall, so that the citizens might be able to defend themselves against the Romans even without his aid. Still, he left a small force to help them also in building the wall, while he marched himself with the rest of his army to the river Galæsus, five miles from the city, and there encamped.

On his return from this position to inspect the work, which had made considerably more rapid progress than he had expected, he conceived a hope that the citadel might be stormed. It was not, like all other citadels, protected by its height, but it stood on level ground, and was merely separated from the town by a wall and a fosse. While the attack was being pressed with every variety of engines and siege-works, reinforcements despatched from Metapontum gave the Romans encouragement to sally out suddenly by night on the enemy's lines. Part

they shattered down, part they destroyed by fire, and this ended Hannibal's assault on that side. His remaining hope lay in a blockade, but this could not be thoroughly effectual, as the occupants of the citadel, which stood on a peninsula and commanded the entrance of the harbour, had the freedom of the sea, while the town, on the other hand, was cut off from all maritime communication, and so the besiegers were more in danger of famine than the besieged.

BOOK XXV.
*Failure of his
attack.*

Hannibal summoned a meeting of the principal Tarentine citizens, and explained to them all the difficulties that beset him. He saw no way of storming such a strongly fortified citadel, and he had no hope from a blockade as long as the enemy had possession of the sea. If he had ships, with which to stop the import of supplies, the enemy would at once either retire or surrender. The Tarentines concurred, but they maintained that he who gave the advice must help towards carrying it into effect. "Carthaginian ships," they said, "brought up from Sicily could do this. As for their own, shut in as they were within a confined bay, while the enemy held the entrance to the harbour, in what possible manner could they escape into the open sea?" To this Hannibal replied: "Escape they shall. Many things which nature surrounds with impediments are quite easy to accomplish by forethought. You have a city situated in a plain; you have level and sufficiently broad streets opening in all directions. Along the street which leads through the middle of the city to the harbour down to the sea I will convey vessels of comparatively small size on waggons, and the sea, which is now in the enemy's power, shall be ours. We will then blockade the citadel on that side by sea, on this by land, and without a doubt we shall take it, either abandoned by the enemy, or with the enemy within it."

*He consults with
the Tarentines.*

This speech excited not only hopes of success, but also the highest admiration of the general. Forthwith waggons were brought from all parts and joined together; machines were applied to the hauling ashore of vessels, and a road prepared along which the waggons might roll more easily, that there might be the less difficulty in the passage. And then beasts of burden and men were procured, and the work promptly begun. In a few days a fleet was equipped and prepared, which sailed

BOOK XXV. round to the citadel and cast anchor at the very mouth of the harbour. Such was the state of affairs which Hannibal left behind him at Tarentum, when he returned himself into his winter quarters. Authors, however, contradict each other on the point whether it was in this or in the previous year that the revolt of the Tarentines occurred. Most, and those who lived nearest the living tradition of the events, relate that it took place in this year.

*The citadel is
blockaded by sea
and land, and
Hannibal
returns into
winter quarters.*

*Prophecies of
one Marcius.*

12. Up to the twenty-seventh day of April the consuls and prætors were detained at Rome by the Latin festival. That day the sacred rites were completed on the Alban Mount and they started for their respective provinces. A fresh religious obstacle then stood in their way, based on the prophecies of a certain Marcius. This Marcius had been a famous prophetic bard, and when search had been made in the previous year for all such books by direction of a decree of the Senate, they had passed into the hands of Marcus Atilius, the city prætor, who had the management of the business. He at once handed them over to Sulla, the new prætor. Of two prophecies of this Marcius, one which was published after the event gained with the fulfilment an authority which lent credit to the other, the time for which had not yet arrived. He first predicted the defeat of Cannæ almost in these words: "Troy-descended Roman, avoid the Canna. Let not aliens force thee to join battle in the plain of Diomed. But thou wilt not believe me till thou hast filled the plain with thy blood, till the river carry many slaughtered thousands of thine into the great sea from the fruit-bearing land, till to the fishes and to the birds and wild beasts that dwell in the earth thy flesh has become food. For thus has Jupiter declared to me." The plain of the Argive Diomed and the river Canna, alike with the disaster itself, were recognised by all who had served as soldiers in those parts.

The second prophecy was then read out, not only more obscure than the preceding, because the future is more uncertain than the past, but likewise more perplexing from its style: "Romans, if ye are minded to drive out the foe and the plague which comes from nations afar, I hold that ye must vow games to Apollo, which every year in a willing spirit may be celebrated to Apollo, the people giving part of the cost out of the public

"purse, and private citizens contributing for themselves and their families. Over the celebration of these games shall preside the prætor, who shall have to administer supreme justice to the people and the commons. Let ten men offer sacrifice with victims after Greek ritual. If ye shall do this, ye shall rejoice evermore, and your state shall become more prosperous; for the god (Apollo) shall destroy your foes, who eat up your fields in peace."

For the interpretation of this prophecy they took one day. On the following the Senate passed a resolution appointing ten commissioners to examine the sacred books with reference to the celebration of games and sacrifices to Apollo. The matter having been investigated and a report made to the Senate, it was decreed that "games were to be vowed and celebrated to Apollo; that after their celebration twelve thousand pounds of brass were to be given to the prætor for offering sacrifice, with two greater victims." Another resolution was also passed. "Ten men were to sacrifice according to Greek ritual and with the same victims; to Apollo, a bull with gilded horns and two white goats with gilded horns; to Latona, a cow with gilded horns." The prætor, as he was about to celebrate the games in the Circus Maximus, issued a proclamation that the people, during the games, were to contribute gifts to Apollo, as much as might be convenient. Such is the origin of the Apollinarian games, which were vowed and celebrated with a view to victory, and not, as many think, to the public health. The people wore garlands while witnessing them; the matrons offered prayers; everywhere there was feasting in public, with open doors, and the day was honoured with every variety of religious ceremony.

*Origin of the
Apollinarian
games.*

13. While Hannibal was in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and the two consuls in Samnium, purposing however, as it seemed, to besiege Capua, the Campanian population, having been prevented by the Roman armies from sowing their crops, began to feel the famine which is the usual misery of a long blockade. So they sent envoys to Hannibal begging him to give orders for the conveyance of corn from the neighbouring country to Capua, before the Roman consuls led the legions into their territories and all the roads were blockaded by the enemy's

*Distress of the
Campanians.*

*They beg
Hannibal to
provide Capua.*

BOOK XXV.

*Hanno enters
Campania with
his troops.*

forces. Hannibal directed Hanno to march with his troops from Bruttium into Campania and take care that the Campanians were furnished with an ample supply of corn. Leaving Bruttium with his army and anxiously avoiding the enemy's camp and the consuls who were in Samnium, Hanno, on arriving near Beneventum, encamped on high ground three miles from the city. He then ordered corn to be brought into his camp from the allied peoples in the neighbourhood, where during the summer it had been stored, and assigned a guard to accompany the convoys. Next, he sent a message to Capua, stating the day on which they were to be at his camp ready to receive the corn, after first collecting from the whole country all kinds of carts and beasts of burden.

*Slackness of the
Campanians*

The Campanians acted in the matter with their characteristic slowness and carelessness. They sent rather more than four hundred carts with a few beasts of burden besides. For this Hanno reprimanded them, telling them that even the hunger which rouses dumb animals could not stir them to energy. And he fixed another and more distant day for the procuring of corn on a greater scale.

*Fabius enters
Beneventum.*

All this, just as it occurred, was reported to the citizens of Beneventum, who at once sent ten envoys to the consuls, the Roman camp being near Bovianum. On hearing what was taking place at Capua, the consuls arranged between themselves that one of them should march his army into Campania. Fabius, to whom this charge was assigned, set out and entered the walls of Beneventum by night. He learnt in the neighbourhood that Hanno had gone foraging with a part of his army; that a quæstor had the business of delivering the corn to the Campanians; that two thousand waggons and a disorderly, unarmed throng had arrived; that all was tumult and excitement and that the proper character of a camp and military discipline were destroyed by an influx of rustics from the country round. All this having been well authenticated, the consul issued orders to his soldiers to have their standards and arms, with nothing else, in readiness for the next night, as the Carthaginian camp must be attacked. They began their march at the fourth watch, all baggage and incumbrances having been left at Beneventum. Arriving at the camp a little before daybreak, they inspired such

*He makes a
sudden attack
on the
Carthaginian
camp.*

a panic that, had the camp been on level ground, it could undoubtedly have been taken at the first assault. It was guarded by the height of the position and by fortifications, which could be approached only by a steep and difficult ascent. At early dawn a fierce action was raging, and the Carthaginians not only defended their lines, but, having the advantage of more even ground, they hurled back their foes as they struggled up the heights.

14. Stubborn courage, however, overcame everything, and at several points simultaneously the assailants reached the intrenchments and the fosse, but with many wounds and much loss of men. Accordingly the consul called together the officers and told them "that their rash attempt must be abandoned; "that it was safer, in his opinion, to withdraw the army that "very day to Beneventum, and then on the following to encamp "close to the enemy, so that it might be impossible for the Campanians to quit their position, or for Hanno to return. To "insure this the more easily, he would call for the aid of his "colleague with his army, and they would together concentrate "the whole war on this point."

Such was the general's purpose, but, as soon as he sounded a retreat, the clamour of his soldiers, who spurned such tame leadership, scattered it to the winds. Close to one of the gates of the hostile camp was a Pelignian cohort, the officer of which, Vibius Accuæus, seized the standard and flung it across the enemy's lines. Then, invoking a curse on himself and his cohort should the enemy possess himself of the standard, he rushed foremost through the fosse and the intrenchments into the camp. And now the Peligni were fighting within the lines, while on the other side, where Valerius Flaccus, an officer of the third legion, was taunting the Romans with cowardice for giving up to their allies the glory of storming the camp, Titus Pedanius, a first-rank centurion, wrested a standard from its bearer with the exclamation, "This standard and this centurion "shall in a moment be within the enemy's lines. Follow me, all "you who mean to save the standard from being taken by the "enemy." As he sprang across the fosse he was followed first by the men of his company, and then by the whole legion. And now the consul, too, as he saw them entering the intrenchments,

BOOK XXV. changed his purpose ; setting himself to incite and encourage his men instead of recalling them, he pointed out to them in what jeopardy and peril stood one of the bravest cohorts of their allies, as well as a legion of their own fellow-citizens. So all the soldiers, while missiles were showered upon them from all sides and the enemy thrust their persons and their swords in the way, pushed on, every man for himself, alike over rough and smooth ground, and forced an entrance. Many a wounded man, some even whose strength and blood were failing them, struggled hard that they might fall within the enemy's lines. So the camp was stormed in a moment, as if it had been situated on level ground and not strongly fortified. Then followed a massacre (for it was no longer a fight) of the confused crowd within the intrenchments ; more than six thousand of the enemy were slain, and above seven thousand made prisoners, along with the Campanian foragers and the whole array of waggons and beasts of burden. There was, besides, an immense booty, which Hanno, when he went plundering about the country, had carried off from the lands of the allies of the Roman people. After demolishing the enemy's camp, they returned to Beneventum, and then the two consuls (for Appius Claudius arrived within a few days) sold and divided the spoil. Rewards were given to the men by whose exertions the enemy's camp had been taken ; above all, to Accuæus, the Pelignian, and to Titus Pedanius, chief officer of the third legion. From Cominium-Ocritum,* where tidings had been received of the destruction of the camp, Hanno, with a few foragers whom he happened to have with him, returned to Bruttium by what more resembled a flight than a march.

*The
Carthaginian
camp is
stormed.*

* Cerreto.

*Hanno retires to
Bruttium.*

*The
Campanians beg
Hannibal to
come to the
rescue of Capua.*

15. The Campanians, on hearing of the disaster which had befallen themselves and their allies, sent envoys to Hannibal to tell him "that the two consuls were at Beneventum, a day's march from Capua ; that the war was all but at their wall and gates, and that unless he came promptly to the rescue Capua would fall into the enemy's power sooner than Arpi. Even Tarentum, much less its mere citadel, ought not to be so valued as to make them surrender Capua, which he used to compare to Carthage, deserted and without defence to the Roman people." Hannibal promised that he would have

care for the interests of the Campanians, and at once despatched two thousand cavalry with the envoys, a force with which they could protect their lands from being ravaged. BOOK XXV.

The Romans, meanwhile, turned their thoughts, among other matters, to the citadel of Tarentum, and the garrison there blockaded. The Senate had authorised Publius Cornelius to send his lieutenant, Caius Servilius, into Etruria to buy up corn, and this officer now made his way, with some vessels laden with corn, into the harbour of Tarentum, through the enemy's guardships. On his arrival, those very men who before, when their hopes were low, had been solicited by the enemy in frequent interviews to transfer their allegiance, now themselves actually pressed and solicited the enemy to change sides. There was, indeed, a tolerably strong garrison, the troops at Metapontum having been transferred to the defence of the citadel of Tarentum. The result was that the citizens of Metapontum, finding themselves at once relieved from the terror which controlled them, revolted to Hannibal. So also did the people of Thurii, prompted not more by the revolt of the Tarentines and Metapontines, with whom, coming as they originally did from the same country, Achaia, they were connected by kinship, than by resentment against the Romans because of the recent murder of the hostages. Their friends and relatives sent a letter with a message to Hanno and Mago, who were in the neighbourhood in Bruttium, offering to surrender the city into their hands if they would march their army up to its walls.

*Supplies
furnished by the
Romans to the
citadel of
Tarentum.*

*Metapontum
and Thurii
revolt to
Hannibal.*

Marcus Atinius was in command at Thurii with rather a small garrison. He could, they thought, be easily lured into rashly engaging in action, not that he trusted so much in the very few soldiers he had, as in the young men of Thurii, whom he had with a special purpose organised in companies and armed for such an emergency. The Carthaginian generals divided their forces between them as soon as they entered Thurian territory, and Hanno, with his infantry in hostile array, proceeded to march on the city. Mago halted with his cavalry at a place where he was screened by some hills which completely concealed his manœuvre. Atinius, who had ascertained from his scouts only the line of march of the infantry, led his army into action without a suspicion of the treachery within

BOOK XXV. the town or of the enemy's ambush. The contest of the infantry was very tame, a few Romans only fighting in the first rank, and the men of Thurii rather awaiting the issue than helping to decide it. And the Carthaginian line too fell back intentionally, in order to draw the unwary foe to the back of the hill which their cavalry occupied. When they reached this point, the troopers rushed out on them with a shout, and in a moment put to flight the ill-disciplined crowd of Thurian citizens, who did not stand loyally by the side on which they were fighting. The Romans for some time prolonged the battle, though they were hemmed in and hard pressed by infantry on one side and cavalry on the other. At last they too turned their backs and fled to the city.

*Destruction of
the Roman
garrison at
Thurii.*

There the traitors in a dense body received their fellow-citizens' army within the open gates; but when they saw the Romans hurrying to the town in rout, they all shouted that the Carthaginian was upon them, and that the enemy would rush into the city in a promiscuous throng unless the gates were promptly closed. Thus the Romans were shut out, and given up to the foe to be slaughtered. For a brief space civil discord prevailed, one party maintaining that they ought to defend the city, the other that they ought to yield to fate and surrender. But, as often happens, fate and evil counsels triumphed. Atinius with his men was conducted to the sea and to the fleet, as they wished to treat the man with consideration, more for his kindness and just rule over them than out of respect for the Romans. While the Carthaginians were admitted into the city. The consuls then led the legions into Campanian territory, not merely to destroy the corn already stored in winter quarters, but also to attack Capua. They thought to make their consulate illustrious by destroying so powerful a city, and at the same time to wipe off from the empire the huge disgrace of a community so near to Rome having been in revolt more than two years with impunity. But they did not wish Beneventum to be left without defence, and in order that in any sudden emergency of war, or in the event of Hannibal marching on Capua, to bring succour to his allies (which they did not doubt he would do) their cavalry might be able to hold him in check, they ordered Tiberius Gracchus to proceed from Lucania to Beneventum with his

*The consuls
enter Campania.*

horse and light troops, while he was to leave some one in command of the legions and camp in Lucania, and thus retain his hold on the country. BOOK XXV.

16. While Gracchus was sacrificing before moving from Lucania, there occurred a portent of ill omen. Two serpents stole up unseen to the victim's entrails, as soon as the sacrifice was offered, and devoured the liver, disappearing the moment they were perceived. By the advice of the augurs the sacrifice was repeated and the entrails carefully watched when opened, and a second and a third time, it is said, did the serpents approach, taste the liver, and go away unharmed. Although the augurs warned the army that this portent pointed to the general, and that he must beware of "secret enemies and "councils," still no foresight could avert the impending doom.

*An
unfavourable
omen.*

There was one Flavus, a Lucanian, who, when some of his countrymen revolted to Hannibal, was the head of the party which stood by the Romans. He had been in office for a year, having been appointed prætor by the Romans. Suddenly he changed his mind and sought opportunity to win favour with the Carthaginians. He was not satisfied with deserting himself or with drawing the Lucanians into revolt, unless he could bind the enemy by a treaty sealed with the life-blood of his betrayed general and friend. He had a secret interview with Mago, who commanded in Bruttium, and having received from him an assurance that if he betrayed the Roman general to the Carthaginians, the Lucanians would be admitted into friendship, still retaining their freedom and their laws, he at once conducted the Carthaginian commander to a place whither he said he would bring Gracchus with a small retinue. There he bade Mago have infantry and cavalry in readiness, and occupy an ambuscade in which he could conceal a large force. The place having been thoroughly examined and reconnoitred in every part, a day was fixed for carrying out the design.

*Treachery of a
Lucanian, to
which Gracchus
falls a victim.*

Flavus then went to the Roman general. "I have entered," said he, "on a great undertaking, for the accomplishment of which I need your own co-operation. I have persuaded the heads of all the nations, which in the late commotion throughout all Italy revolted to the Carthaginians, to return to friendship with Rome. Rome's power, we see, which was

BOOK XXV. "brought to the verge of ruin by the disaster of Cannæ, is
"daily advancing and gathering strength, while the might of
"Hannibal is on the wane and has come almost to nothing. In
"the matter of an old offence, the Romans will not be implac-
"able; no people has ever been more easily moved to mercy,
"or more ready to grant forgiveness. How often have they for-
"given rebellion in my own ancestors? I have told them all
"this myself," he added, "but they would rather hear it from
"Gracchus' own lips, to see him face to face, and touch his
"right hand. Such is the proposal I have brought, as a pledge
"of my good faith. I have named a place to those who are in
"my secret, quite out of sight, and not far from the Roman
"camp. There the matter can be settled in a few words, and
"Rome have the alliance and obedience of the whole Lucanian
"nation."

Gracchus, thinking that there was no deceit in the man's words or in the affair, and cheated by his plausibility, set out with his lictors and one squadron of cavalry, and under his friend's guidance fell headlong into the ambushade. Suddenly the enemy rose upon him, and, to remove all doubt as to treachery, Flavus himself joined them. A shower of darts on every side met Gracchus and his troopers. He sprang from his horse, bidding the others do the same, and encouraging them "to
"shed some glory by their valour on the one only thing fortune
"had left in their power. For what was left but death to a
"handful of men hemmed in, as they were, by a vast
"multitude, in a valley inclosed by woods and mountains?
"All that concerned them was this; should they give up their
"bodies like cattle to be slaughtered unavenged, or turning
"with all the energy of their spirit from passively awaiting the
"issue to a fierce and furious effort, fall, doing and daring
"covered with the enemy's blood, amid a pile of the arms and
"bodies of dying foes? The Lucanian traitor and deserter was
"to be every man's mark, and whoever sent him a victim to
"the gods of hell before himself, would find in his own death
"a glorious honour and a noble consolation."

As he said this, he twisted his military cloak round his left arm (for they had not so much as taken their shields with them) and made a rush at the enemy. There was a sharper fight than

could have been expected from the number of the combatants. The bodies of the Romans, being completely exposed, were pierced by darts, of which there fell a shower on every side from the higher ground into the hollow of the valley. Gracchus was now left without defence, and the Carthaginians did their utmost to take him alive. But espying his Lucanian friend amid the enemy, he rushed on the dense array with such fury that it was impossible to spare his life without heavy loss. As soon as he was dead, Mago sent his body to Hannibal, with orders to have it set up together with the "fasces" taken with it in front of the general's tribunal. This is the true story. Gracchus perished in what are called the "Old Fields" in Lucania.

17. Some there are who declare that he fell in the country of Beneventum, near the river Calor,* where he had left his camp with his lictors and their servants to bathe, while the enemy chanced to be concealed amid the willow plantations on the banks, and was cut down naked and unarmed, defending himself with the stones rolled down by the stream. Others again relate that by the advice of the augurs he had gone half a mile from the camp to expiate in an open space the portents above mentioned, and was intercepted by two squadrons of Numidian horse which, as it happened, were occupying the position. So little agreement is there, eminent and renowned as was the man, both as to the place and the manner of his death.

*Various
accounts of the
death of
Gracchus.*

* Calore.

There are various accounts too of his funeral. Some tell us that he was buried by his own men in the Roman camp; others that Hannibal raised his funeral pile at the entrance of the Carthaginian camp. This latter is the more generally accepted story. It is further added that the troops marched under arms, with Spanish dances moving their weapons and bodies according to the fashions of their respective tribes, while Hannibal himself celebrated his obsequies with every honour which acts and words could testify.

Such are the accounts of historians who speak of the incident as occurring in Lucania. If you choose to believe those who say that Gracchus was slain at the river Calor, the enemy possessed themselves only of his head. This having been conveyed to Hannibal, he at once despatched Carthalo

BOOK XXV. to carry it to the quæstor Cneius Cornelius in the Roman camp. Cornelius performed the general's funeral rites in the camp, and the citizens of Beneventum joined the army in their celebration.

*Defeat of the
consuls in
Campania.*

18. The consuls entered Campania and ravaged it far and wide, but a sudden sortie of the townsfolk and of Mago with his cavalry compelled them in confusion and terror to recall their straggling troops to the standards. Their army was scarcely yet arrayed for battle when they were routed with a loss of more than one thousand five hundred men. Upon this an overweening confidence swelled the hearts of this naturally arrogant people, and they harassed the Romans in a succession of skirmishes. But the single battle on which they had ventured rashly and unadvisedly, had made the consuls more vigilant in their precautions. One trifling incident, however, restored the courage of the Romans and diminished the audacity of the Campanians. Nothing indeed is so insignificant in war that it may not occasionally be the determining cause of a great result.

*A Campanian
challenges a
Roman to single
combat.*

Badius, a Campanian, was the friend of one Titus Quinctius Crispinus, and very close was the friendship which united them. The intimacy had increased in consequence of Badius, before the revolt of Campania, having received during an illness at Rome kind and generous treatment in the house of Crispinus. He now stepped out in front of the sentries posted before one of the camp-gates, and bid them call Crispinus. Crispinus, receiving the message, thought that a friendly interview on the strength of the still lingering recollection of private obligation was requested, even amid the disruption of public treaties; and he proceeded a short distance in advance of his comrades. When they came in sight, Badius exclaimed, "I challenge you to combat, Crispinus. Let us mount our horses and decide which is the better man in war, whilst the rest stand aloof." To which Crispinus rejoined, "Neither I nor you are in want of foes on whom to display our valour. Even were I to meet you in the field, I would turn aside rather than stain my right hand with the blood of a friend."

He turned and went away as he spoke. Instantly, with fierce insolence, the Campanian upbraided his tameness and cowardice.

and flung at the innocent man taunts which he himself deserved. BOOK XXV.
 "A friendly foe," he called him, "who was feigning to spare one
 for whom he knew that he was not a match. If you do not
 think that the disruption of public treaties has broken off also
 all private obligations, I, Badius, the Campanian, in the
 hearing of the two armies, openly renounce the friendship of
 Titus Quinctius Crispinus, the Roman. No tie exists between
 this man and me, no bond of alliance, when I am the foe of
 a foe who has come to make war on my country and the gods
 of my land and my home. Meet me, if you are a man."

Crispinus hesitated long, but was persuaded by his brother-troopers not to suffer the Campanian to insult him with impunity. Waiting only till he had asked the generals whether they would allow him out of the usual course to fight an enemy who challenged him, by their permission he took his arms, mounted his horse, and, calling Badius by name, summoned him to combat. There was not a moment's delay on the part of the Campanian. They charged and met. Crispinus with his lance pierced the left shoulder of Badius over his shield, and sprang on him as he fell wounded from his horse, intending, himself on foot, to despatch his prostrate foe. Badius, before he was overpowered, left his shield and his horse and fled to his comrades. Crispinus, adorned with his spoils and displaying the steed and arms he had captured and his blood-stained spear, was conducted to the consuls amid the loud praises and congratulations of his fellow-soldiers. The consuls too praised him in the highest terms, and loaded him with gifts.

*Victory of the
Roman.*

19. Hannibal, having moved his camp from the country of Beneventum to Capua, led out his troops to battle on the third day after his arrival. As the Campanians had fought a successful action in his absence a few days before, he had no doubt that the Romans would be far less able to resist himself and his repeatedly victorious army. As soon as the battle began, the Roman line suffered much from the enemy's horse, being almost overwhelmed with showers of missiles, till the cavalry received orders to charge the enemy at full speed. A cavalry engagement followed, when there appeared in the distance the army of Sempronius, commanded by the quæstor, Caius Cornelius, and both sides were seized with a fear that a new

*Indecisive action
between
Hannibal and
the Romans
near Capua.*

BOOK XXV. enemy was at hand. The signal of retreat was given in both armies, seemingly by mutual agreement, and so they were marched back into camp and parted on almost equal terms, though more fell on the Roman side in the first charge of the cavalry.

The consuls, seeking to draw Hannibal away from Capua, separated on the following night, Fulvius marching into the territory of Cumæ and Claudius into Lucania. Next day Hannibal received intelligence that the Roman camp was deserted, and that the army had quitted it by two different routes. At first, uncertain which to pursue, he decided to follow up Claudius, who led his enemy a long circuit the way he pleased, and returned by another road to Capua. But chance gave Hannibal another opportunity of striking a successful blow in these parts.

*Rash attempt of
a Roman
centurion, ending
in a fatal
disaster.*

There was one Marcus Centenius, by surname Pænula, distinguished among the first-rank centurions both for bodily size and courage. He had completed his term of service, and, having been introduced to the Senate by Publius Cornelius Sulla, the prætor, he begged them to give him five thousand soldiers, assuring them that "knowing as he did, the enemy and the country, he would soon make it worth their while, and turn the stratagems which in those localities had proved fatal to Roman generals and armies against their inventor."

The promise, stupidly made, was as stupidly believed, just as if the qualities of a general were the same as those of a soldier. He was intrusted with eight instead of five thousand troops, half being citizens, half allies. He himself too, on his march, raised a considerable force of volunteers from the country districts, and with his army almost doubled he entered Lucania, where Hannibal, after his fruitless pursuit of Claudius had halted. The result could not be doubtful, when it was a contest between a general such as Hannibal and a centurion with one army, too, being veterans in victory, while the other was altogether new and for the most part levied at random and half armed. As soon as the armies saw each other, neither side declining to fight, order of battle was formed. Fiercely they fought, considering their utter disparity, and that for more than two hours, the Roman army with peculiar energy, as long as their leader stood his ground. At last, both for the sake of

old renown and from the fear of disgrace should he survive a disaster brought on by his own rashness, he threw himself amid the enemy's darts and was slain. The Roman army was routed in a moment. So completely closed against them was every chance of escape, all the roads being beset by cavalry, that out of so numerous a host hardly a thousand escaped. The rest perished as they fled, some by one death and some by another.

20. Again the consuls began to besiege Capua in full force. All that was required for the purpose was in course of being brought together and provided. Corn was stored at Casilinum; a fort was erected at the mouth of the Volturnus, where a city now stands. There had previously been some fortifications raised by Fabius Maximus, and now a garrison was posted there to command the neighbouring coast and the river. Corn lately sent from Sardinia, and some bought up by Marcus Junius, the prætor from Etruria, was conveyed from Ostium to these two seaside fortresses, that the army might have an abundant supply throughout the winter.

*Capua besieged
by the consuls.*

Meantime the disaster, which had been sustained in Lucania, was aggravated by the desertion of the slave-volunteer army, which as long as Gracchus was alive had served most loyally, but which regarded itself as disbanded on the death of its general.

Hannibal was unwilling that Capua should be left to itself, or his allies forsaken in so perilous a crisis. But, encouraged by the success he had won through the rashness of one Roman general, he was watching intently the opportunity of crushing another together with his army. He was told by envoys from Apulia that the prætor Cneius Fulvius had at first, while besieging some Apulian towns which had revolted to Hannibal, conducted his operations with vigilance, but that subsequently, in the flush of success, both he and his soldiers who were glutted with spoil, had abandoned themselves to such license and carelessness that all military discipline was at an end. Often, at other times, and now only a few days before, he had learnt by experience what an army is under an incompetent leader, and so he moved his camp into Apulia.

*Fulvius in
Apulia.*

21. The Roman legions, under the prætor Fulvius, were in

BOOK XXV. the neighbourhood of Herdonea.* As soon as they had news of the enemy's approach, they all but tore up the standards, and marched out to battle without orders from the prætor. What chiefly kept them back was a confident assurance that they might do this when they pleased by their own choice. On the following night Hannibal, who was well aware that there was an uproar in the camp, and that many of the soldiers were shouting "To arms," and had fiercely insisted on their general giving the signal, felt assured that an opportunity of victory was presenting itself, and posted three thousand light-armed troops in neighbouring farmsteads and amid bushes and copses. At a given signal all were to spring out at the same moment from their hiding-places. Mago, too, with about two thousand cavalry had orders to block all the roads in the direction which he thought the flight would take.

*He is utterly
defeated by
Hannibal.*

Having made these preparations during the night, Hannibal at break of day led out his army to battle. Nor did Fulvius hesitate, though he was urged on more by the impetuosity of his men than by any confidence of his own. And so it was that with the same heedlessness with which they marched to battle was their battle-array formed, the soldiers advancing or halting, just as their inclination prompted, and then, from caprice or terror, abandoning their posts. In the van were drawn up the first legion and the left wing of the allies, and the line was extended to a great length, though the tribunes loudly protested that there was no solidity or strength within, and that wherever the enemy attacked he would break through. But not a word for their good would the men admit into their ears, much less into their minds. And now Hannibal was close upon them, very different general with a very different army, arrayed, too far otherwise. As a consequence, the Romans did not bear up against even the first shout and onset of the enemy. Their leader, a match for Centenius in folly and recklessness, but not to be compared to him in courage, seeing his line wavering and his men in confusion, seized a horse and fled with about two hundred cavalry. The rest of the army beaten in front, and surrounded on its rear and flanks, was so cut up that out of eighteen thousand men not more than two thousand escaped. The camp was taken by the enemy.

22. When these disasters, following one upon another, were reported at Rome, a truly terrible grief and alarm spread through the State. Still, the fact that the consuls were successful at the point where the more important issue lay, somewhat lessened men's trouble at such losses. Two envoys, Caius Lætorius and Marcus Metilius, were despatched to the consuls, with instructions that the remnants of the two armies were to be carefully collected and everything done to prevent them from surrendering to the enemy in terror and despair, as had happened after the defeat of Cannæ, and to seek out the deserters from the slave-volunteer army. The same charge was given to Publius Cornelius, who had also to levy fresh troops, and he published a proclamation in the market and assize-towns that search was to be made for the slave-volunteers, and that they were to be brought back to the standards. All this was done with the strictest care.

The consul, Appius Claudius, had posted Didius Junius at the mouth of the Volturnus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, with orders to send corn immediately to the camp, as soon as the ships had arrived, respectively, from Etruria and Sardinia. He marched back himself to Capua, and found his colleague Quintus Fulvius at Casilinum, from which place he was laboriously conveying all the materials for the siege of Capua. Both of them now invested the city and summoned the aid of Claudius Nero, the prætor, from the camp of Claudius Marcellus at Suessula. So Nero, too, leaving a small force to hold the position, advanced on Capua with all his remaining troops. Thus the headquarters of three generals were established round Capua, and three armies having begun the siege at different points prepared to surround the town with a fosse and rampart, and threw up forts at moderate intervals. There was fighting in several places simultaneously with the Campanians, who tried to stop the works, the result being that the Campanians at last confined themselves within their gates and walls.

*The siege of
Capua is
vigorously
pressed.*

Before, however, this line of works was completed, envoys were sent to Hannibal, charged with a remonstrance at his having abandoned Capua, and all but given it back to the Romans. They were also to implore him now at least to bring them succour, as they were not merely beleaguered, but actually

*The
Campanians
again ask
Hannibal to
come to the
rescue.*

BOOK XXV. walled in. The consuls received the following despatch from the prætor Publius Cornelius :—"Before they closed in Capua "with their works they were to grant all the Campanians who "wished it, liberty to leave the city, and take away with them "their property. Those who left before the fifteenth day of "March were to be free, and retain all that belonged to them ; "those who left after that date, and those who remained there, "were to be reckoned as enemies."

*Hannibal fails
in an attempt
on the citadel of
Tarentum.*

This offer was publicly made to the Campanians, but they spurned it so utterly as to add gratuitous insults and threats. Hannibal had now marched his legions from Herdonea to Tarentum, in the hope of possessing himself of the Tarentine citadel, by force or by stratagem. As this did not succeed, he bent his course towards Brundisium under the impression that the town intended to surrender. There too he was wasting his time to no purpose, when the Campanian envoys came to him with mingled remonstrances and intreaties. Hannibal gave them an arrogant reply ; "he had once before raised "the siege, and now the consuls would not await his arrival." Such was the hope with which he dismissed the envoys, who were hardly able to return to Capua, surrounded, as it now was, with a double fosse and rampart.

*His reply to the
Campanians.*

*Siege of
Syracuse.
Operations of
Marcellus.*

23. Just at the time when Capua was being walled in, the siege of Syracuse came to an end, treachery within assisting as well as the strength and valour of the general and his army. At the beginning of spring Marcellus indeed had doubted whether he should turn his arms towards Agrigentum against Himilco and Hippocrates, or press the blockade of Syracuse, though he saw that it was a city which being unassailable both by sea and land, could not be carried by assault, or reduced by famine, nourished, as it was, with almost perfect freedom by supplies from Carthage. To leave, however, nothing untried, he ordered some Syracusan deserters to sound in conversation the temper of their own partisans and give them an assurance that in the event of the surrender of Syracuse, such persons should live free and under their own laws. The Romans had indeed among them some men of the highest rank who had been exiled when the revolt from Rome took place because they were averse to the change. There was however no oppor-

tunity for interviews; the sentiments of many persons were suspected, and the vigilance and observation of all the citizens were quickened to prevent any such attempt passing unobserved. A single slave belonging to the exiles, getting into the city as a deserter, gathered a few men round him and opened the way to a conference. Soon afterwards some of these persons were conveyed in a fishing-vessel, hidden under nets, to the Roman camp, where they had conversations with the deserters. The same thing was repeatedly done in the same way by others, and again by others, till at last they reached the number of eighty. All arrangements having now been made for a surrender, information was given to Epicydes by one Attalus, who was indignant at not having been intrusted with the secret, and all were put to death with torture.

*Schemes for the
surrender of
the city.*

This hope having proved fallacious, it was soon succeeded by another. A Lacedæmonian, Damippus, who had been sent from Syracuse to King Philip, had been captured by some Roman ships. The recovery of this particular man was a great object to Epicydes, and even Marcellus did not object, as at that time the Romans were bidding for the friendship of the Actolians, a nation with whom the Lacedæmonians were in alliance. Those who were sent to confer on the release of the captive were of opinion that the most central and most convenient place for both sides was at the port Trogilii, near a tower called Galeagra. To this place they went frequently to and fro, and one of the Romans who had surveyed the wall from a near point, by counting the stones and estimating in his mind what was the breadth of each stone on its face, calculated its height, as accurately as was possible by inference. Having come to the conclusion that it was somewhat lower than he and all the others had previously thought, and that it could be scaled by quite moderate ladders, he reported the matter to Marcellus. It seemed to deserve consideration. But as the place, being for this very reason more vigilantly guarded, could not be approached, a favourable moment was sought, and this was afforded by a deserter. He brought word that they were keeping a three days' festival to Diana and that, as other things failed them from the blockade, they were celebrating their feast with wine in unusual abundance, which had been supplied by

BOOK XXV. Epicydes to the whole populace and distributed among the tribes by the leading citizens.

Marcellus on hearing this conferred with a few of his officers, and having through them picked out some centurions and soldiers well-fitted to dare and carry out such an attempt, and having secretly provided scaling ladders, he directed orders to be given to the rest of his troops to refresh themselves promptly and seek repose. At night he must start, he said, on an expedition. When he thought the time had arrived at which, after feasting from early day, the citizens would have had their fill of wine and be beginning to sleep, he ordered the soldiers of one company to bring the scaling-ladders. About a thousand armed men were silently marched to the place in a thin column. As soon as the foremost had mounted the wall without noise or confusion, others followed in due order; for the daring of the first gave courage even to the wavering.

*The Romans
scale the wall,*

*and capture
part of the city.*

24. A thousand armed soldiers were by this time in possession of a part of the city, when the rest of the scaling-ladders were brought up, and the men were climbing the wall by a number of ladders at a given signal from the Hexapylon, which had been reached after traversing a vast solitary space. Most of the guards had been feasting in the towers, and were now either sound asleep with the wine they had drunk, or were still drinking to intoxication. A few, however, of them were surprised in their beds and slain. A little gate near the Hexapylon was beginning to yield to a violent assault, and a signal was given by a trumpet from the wall, as had been previously arranged. And now there was no concealment anywhere, but all was done by open attack, as they had penetrated to Epipolæ, a position held by numerous guards, and the enemy had to be frightened rather than eluded, as in fact they were. As soon as they heard the sound of trumpets and the shouts of the assailants now occupying the walls and a part of the city, the sentries thought that all was won. Some fled along the wall, others leaped from it, and the panic-stricken crowd threw themselves down headlong. Most of them, however, knew nothing of the terrible disaster, for all were heavy with wine and sleep, and in a city of vast extent, what was known in one quarter did not reach to the whole.

At daybreak Marcellus, after forcing the Hexapylon, entered the town with his entire army, thus rousing and constraining the whole population to arm themselves, and render what aid they could to their city, all but captured as it now was. Epicydes advanced at quick march from the island (Nasos is the local name), quite confident that he would merely have to drive out a handful of men who had scaled the walls, and saying again and again to the panic-stricken fugitives who met him that they were aggravating the confusion and bringing news much worse and more alarming than the reality. When however he saw every point near Epipolæ crowded with armed men, he simply discharged a few missiles at the enemy and then marched back his men to the Achradina, dreading not so much the strength and number of the foe as the treachery from within that might take advantage of the opportunity, and fearing to find the gates of the Achradina and the Island closed amid the confusion. Marcellus who had now entered the walls, and standing on the heights had under his eyes what was on the whole the most beautiful city of the time, is said to have shed tears at the sight, partly from joy at having accomplished such a success, partly from the remembrance of the ancient glories of the place. He thought of the Athenian fleets which had been sunk in that harbour, of the two great armies which with the two most illustrious generals had there utterly perished, of the many wars waged with such tremendous efforts against Carthage, of its many powerful princes and tyrants, Hiero above the rest, a king whose memory was still so fresh, and who, far beyond all the distinctions due to his virtue and greatness, was famed for his services to Rome. As all this rose to his mind and the thought came over him that all he saw would in another moment be in flames and reduced to ashes, before he advanced his standards to the Achradina, he sent on the Syracusans who, as already related, had been within the Roman lines, to try whether kindly words might persuade the enemy to capitulate.

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*Marcellus enters
with his whole**His feelings at
the ruin of the
city*

25. The gates and walls of the Achradina were chiefly held by deserters, who had no hope of mercy through negotiations, and these men allowed no one to approach the walls or to address them. So Marcellus, finding his attempt fruit-

*The Achradina
still holds out.*

BOOK XXV. less, ordered his standards to be withdrawn to the Euryalus, a hill in a remote part of the city away from the sea and overlooking a road leading into the country and the interior of the island. It was particularly well situated for the reception of supplies. This strong position was in the charge of Philodemus, an Argive, by the appointment of Epicydes. To him Marcellus despatched one of the murderers of the tyrant, Sosis by name. The man, finding himself, after a long conversation, put off with idle excuses, brought back word to Marcellus that Philodemus had taken time for deliberation. Day after day he still delayed, while Hippocrates and Himilco were advancing their camp and their legions, for he did not doubt, that if once he received them within their stronghold the Roman army might be shut up within the walls, and be destroyed.

*Marcellus
encamps in the
city.*

Marcellus, seeing that the Euryalus was not surrendered and could not be taken, established his camp between Neapolis and Tycha, districts of the city, so called, and indeed themselves as large as cities. He was afraid that if he entered any densely inhabited places, he should not be able to restrain his soldiers from dispersing in their greed for spoil. Envoys came to him with olive-branches and woollen fillets from Neapolis and Tycha, imploring him that they might be spared fire and sword. Their requests, or rather their intreaties were taken into consideration by Marcellus, who, with the general approval proclaimed to his troops "that no soldier was to harm the person of a freeborn citizen, and that all besides would be for plunder." The walls of private houses were now like a fortification, protecting his camp. At the gates which opened on to the streets, sentries and guards were posted, that there might be no sudden attack on the camp while the soldiers were dispersed. This disposal took place at a given signal. Doors were broken open, all was uproar, panic, and confusion; still the men refrained from bloodshed. Of pillage there was no end, till at last the accumulated wealth of long prosperity had been ransacked. Philodemus meantime, seeing that he had no prospect of relief after having received a guarantee of a safe return to Epicydes, withdrew his garrison and surrendered the hill to the Roman army. While all were intent on the confusion in the partly captured

*Surrender of the
hill called
Euryalus.*

city, Bomilcar, finding a night on which the violence of a storm did not allow the Roman fleet to ride at anchor in deep water, quitted the port of Syracuse with thirty-five vessels, and, the sea being clear of an enemy, sailed out into the open deep, leaving Epicydes and the Syracusans with fifty ships. Having explained to the Carthaginians what an imminent crisis hung over the fortunes of Syracuse, he returned in a few days with a hundred vessels, and was rewarded, as tradition says, by Epicydes with gifts out of Hiero's treasures.

26. Marcellus having possessed himself of the Euryalus and secured it with a garrison, was free from one anxiety. There was no fear of a hostile attack on the fortress from the rear, such as might cause panic among his men while still confined and entangled amid the walls. He next laid siege to the Achradina, establishing three camps in suitable positions, in the hope of reducing the besieged to the want of every necessary. For several days the sentries on both sides had been undisturbed, when suddenly the arrival of Hippocrates and Himilco led to the Romans themselves being attacked on every side. Hippocrates had fortified a camp near the great harbour, and, after giving a signal to the garrison of the Achradina, assaulted the old camp of the Romans, which was in the charge of Crispinus. At the same moment Epicydes sallied out on the sentries of Marcellus, while the Carthaginian fleet came to shore between the city and the Roman camp, so preventing any reinforcements being sent by Marcellus to support Crispinus. Still the enemy, though causing much alarm, did little damage. Crispinus not only repulsed Hippocrates from his lines, but even pursued him as he fled in panic, and Marcellus too drove Epicydes back into the city. It seemed now that for the future adequate precautions had been taken against any danger arising from sudden sorties of the Syracusans. Pestilence was added to their sufferings, a common trouble, and quite sufficient to divert their minds from thoughts of war. It was autumn, and the locality naturally unhealthy, much more so, however, without than within the city, and the intolerable intensity of the heat affected almost every constitution in both camps. At first men fell sick, and died from the insalubrity of the season and the place, and after a while attendance on the

*Marcellus
besieges the
Achradina.*

*Outbreak of a
pestilence.*

BOOK XXV. sick, and contact with them, spread the disorder. Consequently, all who fell sick, either died untended and forsaken, or involved in their own fate, by infecting with the same virulent disease, those who sat by them and nursed them. Every day were to be seen deaths and funerals; everywhere, day and night, the sound of wailing was heard. At last men became so brutalised by familiarity with horror that they ceased not only to follow the dead with tears and the usual laments, but even to carry them out to burial, and lifeless bodies lay strewn on the ground under the eyes of those who were awaiting the same death. So, what with terror, and, above all, the foul presence and fatal smell of the corpses, the dead were the destruction of the diseased, and the diseased of the sound and healthy. Some even rushed alone on the enemy's sentries, that they might rather perish by the sword. But the pestilence fastened with far greater violence on the Carthaginian camp than on the Roman, which, from the long blockade, had become more habituated to the climate and water of Syracuse. The Sicilians among the enemy's army left it as soon as they saw disease spreading from the unhealthiness of the locality, and dispersed to their own cities. The Carthaginians, however, who had no retreat open to them, perished to a man, with their leaders Hippocrates and Himilco. Marcellus had marched his men into the city, when the violence of the malady increased, and their feeble frames were restored by shade and shelter. Still many of the Roman army were swept off by this pestilence.

*The
Carthaginian
army perishes
to a man.*

27. After the destruction of the Carthaginian land-army, the Sicilians who had served under Hippocrates went off to certain towns, which, though small, were secure from their position and fortifications. One was three, the other fifteen miles from Syracuse. Thither they conveyed supplies from their own states, and invited reinforcements. Meanwhile Bomilcar sailed a second time with his fleet to Carthage, and gave such a representation of the plight of their allies as to create a hope that they might not only be effectually relieved but also that the Romans might somehow be taken along with the captured city. Thereby he induced them to send him off with as many transport vessels as possible, laden with stores of all kinds, and to increase his fleet. So he left Carthage with :

*Their fleet sails
to Carthage, and
returns with
supplies and
reinforcements.*

hundred and thirty war ships and seventy transport vessels, and had favourable enough winds for the passage to Sicily. Those same winds, however, prevented him from rounding Cape Pachynus.*

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* Passaro.

The rumoured approach and then the unexpected delay of Bomilcar produced an alternation of joy and alarm among the Romans and the Syracusans. Epicydes, who feared that if the winds then prevailing continued to blow from the east for many more days, the Carthaginian fleet would return to Africa, intrusted the Achradina to the officers of his mercenary troops, and sailed himself to Bomilcar. He found him with his fleet facing the coast of Africa, and afraid of a naval engagement, not so much because he was unequal in strength and number of vessels (for he had more than his adversaries) as because the winds blew more favourably for the Roman ships than for his own. At last, however, he persuaded him to decide on trying the issue of a naval encounter. Marcellus, too, seeing that a Sicilian army was gathering from the whole island, and that a Carthaginian fleet was at hand with vast supplies, determined, though inferior in the number of his fleet, to oppose Bomilcar's approach to Syracuse, and so save himself from being shut in and confined, both by land and sea, within a hostile city. Two opposing fleets now stood off Cape Pachynus, about to fight as soon as a calm sea let them sail out into deep water. When the east wind, which had raged for several days, began to fall, Bomilcar was the first to move. His fleet, it seemed, was the first to make for deep water, with the view of more easily rounding the promontory. When, however, he saw the Roman ships advancing towards him, he sailed out into the open sea, whether from any sudden alarm is unknown, and after sending messengers to Heraclea to order the return of the transport vessels to Africa, he made for Tarentum, coasting along Sicily. Epicydes, his great hopes having thus suddenly failed him, not wishing to go back to be blockaded in a city already in great part captured, sailed to Agrigentum,† where he meant to await the issue rather than to attempt any movement.

Marcellus offers battle, which the Carthaginian fleet declines.

Epicydes retires to Agrigentum.

† Girgenti.

28. When the news reached the Sicilian camp that Epicydes had left Syracuse, that the island had been abandoned by the Carthaginians, and a second time, in a manner, given up to the

Envoys from the Sicilian army to Marcellus.

BOOK XXV. Romans, envoys were despatched to Marcellus to discuss the terms of the city's surrender, the wishes of the besieged having previously been ascertained in various interviews. It being on the whole agreed that all the possessions of the kings were now to be the possessions of the Romans, but that the Sicilians were to retain all else with their freedom and their laws, the men whom Epicydes had left in trust were summoned to a conference, in which the envoys told them that they had been sent by the Sicilian army to them as well as to Marcellus. It was the army's wish that both the besieged and those who were free of the siege should fare alike, and that neither should make any separate terms for themselves. Having been allowed to enter, and to have some conversation with their kinsfolk and friends, the envoys explained what they had already arranged with Marcellus, and holding out to them the prospect of safety, induced them to join them in an attack on the officers of Epicydes, Polyclitus, Philistio, and on Epicydes surnamed Sindon. These they put to death; and then, calling an assembly of the people, they complained bitterly of the distress at which the citizens had been used to grumble secretly among themselves, and declared that, "though they were crushed by so many miseries, they did not blame fortune inasmuch as it rested with themselves how long they would endure them. The motive of the Romans in besieging Syracuse was love, not hatred, of the Syracusans; it was when they heard that their government had been seized by Hannibal's satellites, and then by Hippocrates and Epicydes the satellites of Hieronymus, that they at once commenced hostilities and began the siege of the city—an attack aimed not at the city itself, but at its cruel masters. But now that Hippocrates was dead, and Epicydes shut out by the Syracusans, his officers slain, and the Carthaginians deprived of all hope on Sicily either by sea or land, what reason yet remained why the Romans should not wish Syracuse to be safe, just as if Hiero himself, that singularly warm supporter of friendship with Rome, were still living? Neither their city, therefore, nor its inhabitants were in any danger but from themselves: should they let slip this opportunity of reconciliation with Rome, as soon as ever they found themselves free from the

*They enter
Syracuse.*

*The officers of
Epicydes are put
to death.*

*Address of the
envoys to the
people of
Syracuse.*

"domination of tyrants ; for such an opportunity as they had at that moment they would never have again."

29. They all listened to this speech with the most marked approval. But before nominating envoys it was decided to appoint prætors, and then deputies chosen from among these prætors were sent to Marcellus. The chief deputy spoke as follows : " It was not we Syracusans who, in the first instance, "revolted from you ; it was Hieronymus, who acted far more "wickedly towards us than towards you. And then afterwards, "when peace was made on the tyrant's death, it was not any "Syracusan who disturbed it ; it was those satellites of the "king, Hippocrates and Epicydes, who crushed us by terror, on "the one hand, and by treachery on the other. Indeed, no one "can say that we have ever had a period of freedom which has not "also been a period of peace with you. Now, at any rate, the "moment we have begun to be our own masters, through the "destruction of the men who held Syracuse under their grasp, "we have come at once to give up our arms, to surrender our "persons, our city, our walls, to accept, in fact, any condition "which you shall determine for us. On you, Marcellus, heaven "has bestowed the glory of taking the noblest and fairest of "Greek cities ; and all the memorable deeds we have achieved "by land or sea are added to the record of your triumph. Let "it not be your wish that belief in the grandeur of the city you "have taken should depend on report rather than on the eyes of "posterity, even as it now exhibits to all who visit it by land or "sea our trophies over the Athenians and Carthaginians, and "at this present yours over us. Hand down, we beseech you, to "your family Syracuse unharmed, to be preserved under the "protection and guardianship of the name of the Marcelli. Do "not let yourselves be influenced by the memory of Hieronymus "more than by that of Hiero. He was far longer your friend "than Hieronymus was your foe. His good services you have "indeed experienced, while the madness of the other wrought "only his own destruction."

The Romans were ready enough to grant their prayer and assure their safety ; it was among themselves that there was more strife and peril. For the deserters, who thought that they were to be surrendered to the Romans, made the mercenaries

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*Outbreak and
Massacre at
Syracuse.*

feel the same fear. Snatching up their arms they first slaughtered the prætors, and then rushed hither and thither to massacre the Syracusans. They slew in their fury all whom chance threw in their way, and plundered all on which they could lay hands. Next, not to be without leaders, they chose six officers, three to command the Achradina and three the Island. At last the tumult subsided; the mercenaries made inquiries as to the negotiations with the Romans, and, the real facts beginning to disclose themselves, they saw that their case was different from that of the deserters.

*Return of the
Syracusan
envoys from
Marcellus*

30. At this opportune moment the envoys returned from Marcellus. A false suspicion had, they said, excited them, and the Romans had no ground for insisting on their punishment. One of the three officers in command at the Achradina was a Spaniard, named Mœricus, and a soldier from the Spanish auxiliaries had been designedly sent to him along with the envoys' attendants. The man had a private interview with Mœricus, and first described the state of Spain as he left it; he had lately come from that country. "All was there falling under the arms of Rome; he might, by rendering the Romans a valuable service, be a leading man among his countrymen, whether he had a mind to fight for Rome or to go back to his native state. But if, on the other hand, he persisted in preferring to be besieged, what hope had he, hemmed in, as he was, by sea and land?"

This impressed Mœricus, and, when it was decided to send envoys to Marcellus, he sent his brother with them. The brother was conducted apart from the other envoys by the same Spaniard to Marcellus. Having received an assurance of safety, and arranged the order of proceeding, he returned to the Achradina. Mœricus, to divert all minds from the suspicion of treachery, at once declared "that he did not like the going to and fro of envoys, that they ought neither to admit nor to send any, and that, to secure greater vigilance in the defence, suitable posts should be assigned to the officers, so that each might be responsible for guarding his own position." All agreed to this assignment of different posts. To Mœricus fell the portion stretching from the fountain of Arethusa to the mouth of the great harbour. Of this he made the Romans aware. Marcellus accordingly gave orders that at night a transport vessel with

armed soldiers was to be towed by a chain from a quadrireme to the Achradina, and the troops landed in the neighbourhood of the gate near the fountain of Arethusa. This having been done in the fourth watch, and Mœricus, according to the arrangement, having admitted the soldiers; when landed, within the gate, Marcellus at day-break assaulted in full force the fortifications of the Achradina. Not only did he concentrate on himself the efforts of the garrison of the Achradina, but bodies of armed men also hurried up from the Island, leaving their posts in order to repel the fury of the Roman attack. Meanwhile, amid the confusion, some light vessels, ready equipped, had sailed round to the Island. There they landed soldiers who suddenly rushed on the half-manned outposts and open entrance of the gate, out of which the armed men had just issued. After a slight struggle they took the Island, which in the panic and flight of its guards had been deserted. None, indeed, had less encouragement or resolution of their own to stand their ground than the deserters, for not liking to trust themselves even to their own comrades they fled in the middle of the engagement. Marcellus, as soon as he learnt that the Island was taken, and one quarter of the Achradina occupied and that Mœricus with his garrison had joined his troops, sounded a retreat, fearing that the king's treasures, the fame of which exceeded the reality, would be pillaged.

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The Achradina taken through the treachery of one of the officers of the garrison.

31. The soldiers' impetuosity having been thus checked, the deserters in the Achradina had space and opportunity for flight, while the Syracusans, now at last released from their fears, threw open the gates of the Achradina, and sent envoys to Marcellus, praying only for safety for themselves and their children. Marcellus called a council to which he also invited those Syracusans who had been driven from their home and were within the Roman lines. His reply was: "Hiero's good services to the Roman people during fifty years were not more in number than the crimes committed against the Roman people in the last few years by the men who had possessed themselves of Syracuse. Most of these, however, have recoiled on the heads on which they ought to fall, and the Syracusans have exacted from themselves a far more terrible

The Syracusans offer to surrender.

BOOK XXV. "vengeance for broken treaties than the Roman people wished. "For myself I have been besieging Syracuse for nearly three "years, not that Rome might make the city her slave, but to "save it from being held captive and crushed by the leaders of "the deserters. What the Syracusans could have done has been "plainly shown by those among them who are within the "Roman lines, or by the Spanish chief, Mœricus, who has "surrendered his post, or, lastly, by the Syracusan's own tardy "but courageous resolution. For all the trials and perils I "have so long endured by land and sea before the walls of "Syracuse, the fact that I have succeeded in taking the city is "by no means such a reward to me as its preservation would "have been."

*Syracuse sur-
rendered and
plundered.
Death of
Archimedes.*

A quæstor was then despatched to the Island with a military force to receive and guard the royal treasure. The city was given up to the soldiers to be plundered, sentries having been posted in the houses of those citizens who had been within the Roman lines. Amid many horrible deeds of fury and rapacity, Archimedes, so tradition records, amid all the tumult that soldiers scouring a captured city for plunder could stir up, was intent on some diagrams which he had traced on the sand, when he was killed by a soldier who knew not who he was. Marcellus was deeply grieved, and gave directions for his burial. Search too, it is said, was made for his kindred, for his name and memory secured protection and honour.

*A Roman fleet
ravages the
country round
Utica.*

Such, as nearly as can be told, were the circumstances of the taking of Syracuse. The spoil was almost greater than would have been found in Carthage had that city, which was waging an equal contest with Rome, then been captured. A few days before Syracuse was taken, Titus Otacilius crossed with eighty quinqueremes from Lilybæum to Utica. He entered the harbour before day-break and took some transports laden with corn; then he landed, and, after ravaging much of the country round Utica, went back to his ships with plunder of every description. He returned to Lilybæum within three days from the time he left it, with a hundred and thirty transport vessels laden with corn and booty. The corn he at once sent off to Syracuse. But for this seasonable supply, victors and vanquished alike would have been on the brink of a disastrous famine.

BOOK XXV.

Affairs in Spain.

32. That same summer in Spain, where for nearly two years absolutely nothing worthy of mention had occurred, and where the contest had been carried on more by diplomacy than by arms, the Roman generals, on leaving their winter-quarters, united their forces. Then they called a council in which there was a unanimous agreement of opinion. As up to that point they had merely succeeded in holding Hasdrubal back from advancing on Italy, it was now thought that the time had come for an effort to finish the war in Spain, and that for this they had sufficient strength, with a reinforcement of twenty thousand Celtiberi, who that winter had been roused to arms. There were three armies. Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, and Mago had united their camps, and were about five days' march from the Romans. Hasdrubal the son of Hamilcar, an old commander in Spain, was still nearer to them, having an army in the neighbourhood of a town named Amtorgis. The Roman generals were anxious that he should first be crushed, and they had a confident assurance that they had sufficient, and more than sufficient, strength for that purpose. Only one fear remained, that when he had been routed, the other Hasdrubal and Mago would retire panic-stricken into trackless forests and mountains, and there prolong the war. They therefore thought it best to divide their forces into two armies, and to embrace in one simultaneous effort the whole Spanish war. The division was so arranged that Publius Cornelius was to march against Mago and Hasdrubal with two-thirds of the Roman and allied forces, while Cneius Cornelius was to carry on the conflict against Hamilcar, the son of Barca, with a third part of the old army reinforced by the Celtiberi. Both the generals and their armies, with the Celtiberi in advance, marched together to the town of Amtorgis and encamped in sight of the enemy, a river parting them. Here Cneius Scipio halted with the force before mentioned, while Publius Scipio set out to his appointed part in the war.

*The Carthaginians unite their forces.**The Scipios divide their army.*

33. Hasdrubal, who understood barbarian treachery in its every phase, and especially that of all those tribes among whom for so many years he had been fighting, on perceiving how small was the Roman army in the camp and that all their hopes rested on their Celtiberian reinforcements, availed himself of the easy interchange of speech between two camps full of Spaniards,

BOOK XXV. and in secret interviews with the chiefs of the Celtiberi induced them by a great bribe to promise that they would withdraw their troops. The act did not strike them as outrageous ; for its object was not to make them turn their arms against the Romans, while pay, that would have sufficed for fighting, was offered them for not fighting. Most of them too liked rest, for its own sake, and, above all, return to their homes and the pleasure of seeing their friends and their possessions. Consequently, the entire host was as easily persuaded as its leaders, nor had they the least fear from the Romans, few as these were, should they attempt to retain them by force. This, indeed, is a danger against which Roman generals will always have to guard, who should look on such instances as warnings not to confide so completely in foreign auxiliaries as to let their camp be without a superiority in their own proper strength and resources. The Celtiberi suddenly took up their standards and marched off, and when the Romans asked the reason and implored them to stay, they replied that they were called away by a war at home. As soon as Scipio saw that he could not retain his allies either by entreaty or force, that without them he was no match for the enemy and could not again join his brother, while no other safe measure was at once practicable, he resolved to retreat so far as he was able. All his vigilance was directed to the one object of not encountering his foe on open ground. The enemy had crossed the river and was pressing closely on the footsteps of the retreating army.

*The Celtiberi
desert Cneius
Scipio.*

Scipio retreats.

*Perilous position
of Publius
Scipio.*

34. Publius Scipio at the same time was under the pressure of a fear as great and of a danger even greater from a new enemy. There was a young man, Masinissa, then an ally of the Carthaginians, and subsequently made famous and powerful by the friendship of Rome. On this occasion he first opposed Scipio's advance with some Numidian cavalry, and then threatened him unceasingly day and night, not merely cutting off stragglers who went far from the camp for wood and fodder, but riding up to the camp itself, frequently rushing into the midst of the sentries and so spreading the utmost confusion everywhere. Often, even at night, there was the alarm of a sudden attack at the camp gates and rampart, and there was neither place nor time at which the Romans were free from fear, and

anxiety. Driven within their lines and deprived of the use of everything, they were almost in a state of regular blockade which, it was evident, would become closer if Indibilis, who was advancing, according to rumour, with seven thousand five hundred Suesetani, should effect a junction with the Carthaginians. Upon this Scipio, though a cautious and far-seeing general, yielding to necessity, formed the rash design of encountering Indibilis by night and fighting a battle wherever he met him. BOOK XXV.

Accordingly he left a small force in his camp under the command of his lieutenant, Titus Fonteius, set out at midnight, and engaged the enemy the moment he encountered them. They fought in order of march rather than of battle; still, even in their hurry and confusion, the Romans had the advantage. But suddenly the Numidian cavalry, whom the general thought he had eluded, threw themselves on both flanks and caused the greatest panic. A fresh action had now begun with these Numidians, when a third enemy appeared, the Carthaginian generals, who came up with the Roman rear while it was engaged. A double battle had thus to be faced on all sides by the Romans, who knew not in what direction and against what enemy they were to close their lines and charge. While their general was fighting and encouraging his men and exposing himself wherever the conflict was hottest, his right side was pierced by a lance. The enemy's column which had attacked the band that had closed round their general, seeing Scipio drop lifeless from his horse, ran in eager joy hither and thither shouting the news that the Roman general had fallen. The word spread everywhere, with the result that the enemy seemed to be unquestionably victorious and the Romans vanquished. The general fallen, there began an instant flight from the field, but, though there was no great difficulty in breaking through the Numidians and other light armed auxiliaries, still it was barely possible to escape such a multitude of cavalry and of foot soldiers who rivalled horses in speed. And so almost more perished in the flight than in the battle, and not a man would have survived had not the day been rapidly declining and night overtaken them.

He fights at a disadvantage.

He is slain and his army dispersed.

35. Promptly improving their success, the Carthaginian generals immediately after the battle, barely allowing the

BOOK XXV.

*The victorious
Carthaginians
join Hasdrubal.*

soldiers necessary rest, hurried their troops at quick march to Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, in the confident hope that, as soon as they had joined their forces, the war might be ended. On their arrival the armies and generals, overjoyed at their late victory, exchanged hearty congratulations on having destroyed a commander with the whole of a vast army, while they now expected, as a certainty, another equal triumph. Tidings of this terrible disaster had not yet reached the Romans, but there was a gloomy stillness among them and a silent foreboding, such as commonly haunts the mind which feels the presentiment of impending calamity. The general himself, besides seeing that he was deserted by his allies and that the enemy's forces were so vastly augmented, was also inclined by his own conjectures and inferences to suspect the occurrence of disaster rather than to have any encouraging hope. "How," he asked himself, "could Hasdrubal and Mago have brought up their army without fighting unless they had despatched their part of the war?" "How was it that his brother had not opposed their march, or followed them so that he might at least join his forces with those of his brother, if he were unable to hinder the junction of the generals and armies of the enemy?" Amid these harassing apprehensions he decided that his only safe course for the present was to retreat as far as possible, and he accordingly made a considerable march in one night, unknown to the enemy, who consequently did not move. At dawn, perceiving that their foe was gone, they sent on the Numidians in advance and began a pursuit with the utmost possible rapidity. Before nightfall the Numidians had come up with the Romans, and were dashing now on their rear, now on their flanks. They halted, and began to form their line for defence as well as they could; still Scipio kept urging them to fight and push on at the same time, before the infantry overtook them.

*Cneius Scipio
continues his
retreat, closely
pressed by the
enemy.*

*He takes up his
position on a
hill.*

36. Meanwhile, what with fighting and halting, for some time but little progress was made, and night was now at hand, when Scipio recalled his men from battle, rallied them, and led them up a hill, not indeed a very safe position, especially for dispirited troops, but still considerably higher than the surrounding ground. Here his infantry, drawn up round the baggage and cavalry, which were placed in the centre, at first repulsed without difficulty

the repeated attacks of the Numidians ; when, however, the three generals came up in full force with three regular armies, and it was evident that his men would not be strong enough to defend the position merely by their arms, without fortified lines, Scipio began to look around him, and to consider whether he could anyhow intrench himself. But the hill was so bare, and the ground so stony, that he could find neither bushes for cutting palisades nor earth suitable for forming a rampart, or constructing a fosse, or for any other work. Nor was any part of it sufficiently steep or precipitous to render the enemy's approach and ascent difficult ; all was on a gentle slope. Still, to oppose to the enemy some semblance of intrenchments, they tied the pack-saddles and the beasts' burdens together and they built them up, so to speak, to the usual height as a defence round them. Not having pack-saddles enough for the work, they piled up baggage of every description by way of barrier.

The Carthaginian armies, on their arrival, made a very easy march up the hill ; but the unusual look of the rampart, which struck them at first as a sort of miracle, made them pause, while their officers on all sides shouted at them, " Why do you stand still ? Why not pull and tear to pieces that ridiculous thing, hardly strong enough to stop women or children ? The enemy is caught and taken, hiding behind his baggage." But, though the officers taunted their men with these contemptuous words, it was no easy matter to leap over or clear away the obstacles opposed to them, or to cut through the close mass of pack-saddles buried in a heap of baggage. Long was the delay before the obstacles were pushed aside and yielded a passage to the armed soldiers ; and when this had been accomplished at several points, the camp was at once everywhere stormed, and the handful of panic-stricken men was promiscuously slaughtered by their numerous and victorious enemy. Yet many of the troops fled to the neighbouring woods, and made their escape from the camp of Publius Scipio, of which his lieutenant, Titus Sempronius, had charge. Cneius Scipio, say some, was slain on the hill in the enemy's first attack ; according to others, he escaped with a few men to a tower near his camp. This was surrounded with fire ; its gates, which no efforts of the enemy

*He is attacked
by the united
Carthaginian
armies.*

*His camp is
stormed and he
is slain with
most of his men.*

BOOK XXV. could force, were burnt through. Thus it was at last taken and all within, with the general himself, slaughtered.

*Grief at the fall
of the Scipios.*

It was in the eighth year after his arrival in Spain, and the twenty-ninth day after his brother's death, that Cneius Scipio perished. The grief at their fate was not greater in Rome than it was throughout the whole of Spain. At home, indeed, the loss of two armies, the defection of the province, and the public disaster, claimed a part of the sorrow. It was the generals themselves that Spain lamented; Cneius Scipio chiefly, inasmuch as he had ruled the country longer, had been the first to secure its favour, the first also to give it a specimen of Roman justice and moderation.

*A Roman knight
restores the
fortunes of Rome
in Spain.*

37. To all appearance, our armies were utterly destroyed, and Spain lost, when one man restored the fallen fortunes of Rome. Among the soldiers was a certain Lucius, son of Septimius Marcius, a Roman knight, and a young man of spirit, whose enterprising temper and ability were considerably above the station in which he was born. To the highest natural capacity had been added Cneius Scipio's discipline, under which for many years he had thoroughly learnt the whole science of war. He now rallied some of the fugitive soldiers, and others he withdrew from the garrisons, and having thus formed a by no means contemptible army, he joined Titus Fonteius, Publius Scipio's lieutenant. So superior to others was this Roman knight in influence with the soldiers and in distinction, that as soon as a camp had been established on this side the Ebro, and it was decided to appoint a general of our armies by the suffrages of the men, an unanimous vote, given as they came up one after another to their posts and intrenchments conferred the supreme command on Lucius Marcius. After this, the whole of their time, and it was but brief, was devoted to fortifying the camp and collecting supplies, every order being carried out by the men with promptitude and with no despondency of heart. But when news came that Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, had crossed the Ebro on his way to stamp out the remains of the war, and was rapidly approaching, and the soldiers saw the signal for battle given by a new general, they then remembered what men they had but lately had to lead them, what officers, and what forces they had had to rely on.

when they went into the field, and all burst of a sudden into tears and smote their heads. Some lifted their hands to heaven, and upbraided the gods, while others, as they lay stretched on the ground, passionately called each on his old commander by name. It was impossible to hush their mournful cries, though the centurions sought to rouse their men, while Marcius himself both soothed and reproved them. "Why," he asked, "have you abandoned yourselves to womanish and useless laments, instead of rather whetting your courage for your own defence and the defence of the State, and not suffering your generals to have fallen unavenged?"

At that moment was heard a shout and the blast of trumpets, for the enemy was now close to the intrenchments. Instantly grief was changed into fury, and there was everywhere a rush to arms. They seemed fired with madness, as they hurried from all parts to the camp-gates, and charged the foe, who was advancing carelessly and in disorder. The suddenness of the movement at once struck panic into the Carthaginians; they wondered whence such a host of enemies had thus in a moment started up from an army well-nigh destroyed; how vanquished and routed men could show such fearlessness and self-confidence; who had suddenly risen to command them, now that the two Scipios had fallen, or who had given the signal for battle. Confounded by these many strange surprises, they at first slowly retired, perplexed and amazed, and then, hurled back by a vigorous onslaught, turned and fled. There must have been either a frightful slaughter of fugitives, or else a rash and perilous charge in pursuit, had not Marcius promptly given the word of recall. Halting at the foremost standards, and himself holding back some of his men, he restrained the excited troops, and then led them back into the camp, still thirsting for slaughter and blood. The Carthaginians, who had been at first driven in confusion from the enemy's lines, seeing that there was no pursuit, thought that the halt was due to fear, and went back scornfully into their camp at slow march. Equally careless were they in guarding it; for though the enemy was close to them, they thought to themselves that these were but the remains of the two armies destroyed a few days since.

Marcius, accordingly, noting this utter negligence on the

*He defeats a
Carthaginian
army.*

BOOK XXV. enemy's part, after reconnoitring their position, resolved on a step which at first sight looked like rashness rather than courage. He would himself attack the enemy's camp, thinking it an easier matter to storm Hasdrubal's lines while he was alone, than to defend his own against a second junction of three armies and three generals. Besides, either he would retrieve their fallen fortunes, should he be successful in his attempt, or, if he were repulsed, still, by beginning the attack, he should at least rescue himself from contempt.

*Speech to his
men.*

38. Fearing, however, that a plan hardly suitable to his actual flight might be confounded by some unforeseen incident or some panic amid darkness, he decided on addressing and encouraging his troops. He called them together, and spoke as follows :—" My loyalty to our generals, both dead and " living, as well as the circumstances in which we all stand, " soldiers, may convince any one that my position as commander, honourable as it is, as the result of your choice, is really " to myself a burden of anxious responsibility. For at a time " when, did not fear dull the sense of grief, I should have scarce " enough control over my feelings to be able to find any solace " for my sorrowing heart, I am compelled (the hardest of things " in affliction) to take thought on behalf of you all. Even " when I have to consider how I am to save this remnant of " two of our country's armies, I may not divert my mind " from an ever abiding sorrow. A bitter memory is always " present to me, and the two Scipios haunt my thoughts by " day and my dreams by night, and often rouse me from my " slumbers, bidding me not to allow that they, or their soldiers, " your comrades, for eight years unvanquished in these regions, " or the Commonwealth should remain unavenged, and urging " me to follow their methods and maxims, and still, even as while " they lived I was ever obedient to their commands, to count " that the best conduct which I think them most likely to have " followed in such an emergency. I would have you too, " soldiers, not simply honour them with lamentations and tears, " as though they had perished, when in truth they lived, and are " mighty in the fame of their exploits, but, whenever you think " of their memory, go into battle, as if you saw them encouraging you and giving you the signal. It was surely no other image

“that yesterday presenting itself to your eyes and hearts brought
“to pass that memorable conflict, in which you gave the foe a
“proof that the Roman name had not died with the Scipios,
“and that the people whose might and valour were not crushed
“by the disaster of Cannæ would assuredly raise its head after
“the most cruel blows of fortune. Now seeing that you dared,
“so much of your own accord, I wish to try how much you will
“dare at the prompting of your general. When I gave the
“signal for retreat yesterday in your wild pursuit of a routed
“enemy, I had no wish to break your courage, but to reserve it
“for greater glory and a better opportunity. I wished you soon
“to have the chance at a favourable moment of falling prepared
“and armed on a heedless, unarmed, or even slumbering foe.
“And I have the hope, soldiers, of such an opportunity, haply
“not without reason, but based on actual grounds. Surely
“were any one to ask you how you defended your camp, few
“as you were, and suffering under defeat, against a victorious
“host, you would merely reply that, fearing this very danger,
“you secured every point with proper works, and held your-
“selves ready and prepared. The truth indeed is that at the
“point where men’s circumstances render them free from
“fear, they are the least safe ; for whatever we neglect, we
“leave unguarded and exposed. There is nothing in the world
“which the enemy fear less than that we, who are ourselves
“beleaguered and attacked, should voluntarily attack their
“camp. Let us dare what it is incredible that we should dare ;
“what seems hopelessly difficult will for that very reason be
“most easy. At the third watch of the night I will march you
“out in silence. I have thoroughly ascertained that there is no
“due arrangement of guards or regular sentries. A shout heard
“at the gates and the first onslaught will suffice to take the
“camp. Then, while they are heavy with sleep, dismayed at
“the unexpected alarm, surprised and unarmed in their beds,
“spread that slaughter from which to your vexation you were
“yesterday recalled.

“I know the plan seems bold, but under hard circumstances
and with slender hope the most resolute plans are always the
safest. Hesitate ever so little at the moment of an oppor-
tunity, which instantly flies past you, and you will afterwards

BOOK XXV. "seek in vain what you have let slip. One army is close to us ; two are at no great distance. There is some hope for us if we now attack, and already you have tested their strength and your own. If we delay a day and they, hearing of yesterday's sortie cease to despise us, there is a danger that all their generals and forces will unite. Shall we then stand against three of the enemy's generals and three of his armies, when Cneius Scipio with his army unbroken did not stand against them? As our generals perished by dividing their forces, so the enemy, while divided and separated, may be crushed. No other mode of waging war is possible to us. Let us therefore simply await the opportunity afforded by the coming night. Go, with heaven's kind help, and refresh yourselves that, fresh and vigorous, you may break into the enemy's camp with the same spirit with which you defended your own."

They heard with joy the new plan of their new commander, and liked it all the better for its audacity. The remainder of the day they spent in getting their arms in readiness and in refreshing themselves. Most of the night they gave to repose. At the fourth watch they began to move.

*Hasdrubal's
camp taken.*

39. At a distance of six miles beyond the enemy's nearest camp were other Carthaginian forces. A deep and thickly wooded valley lay between. In the centre, as nearly as possible, of the wood were concealed, with Carthaginian cunning, a Roman cohort and some cavalry. The road midway having thus been occupied, the Roman troops were silently marched against the nearest foe, and, as there were no sentries at the gates or guards at the intrenchments, they penetrated without resistance, into the camp, as if it had been their own. The signals were then sounded, and a shout raised. Some slaughtered the enemy half-asleep ; some fired the huts which were covered with dry straw ; others seized the gates, so as to render flight impossible. The fire, the uproar, the slaughter, all combined, drove the enemy almost out of their senses, and did not suffer them to hear or see anything before them. Unarmed they fell in with masses of armed troops ; some rushed to the gates ; others, finding the passages blocked, jumped over the intrenchments, and every one who escaped, began to flee instantly to the other camp. Here they were cut off by the cohort and cavalry

which started out of their ambuscade, and were all slain to a man. Even had any one escaped from the slaughter, so rapidly did the Romans on taking the nearer camp rush to the other camp that he could not have forestalled them with news of the disaster. Here, indeed, as this camp was further from the enemy, and some of the men at daybreak had dispersed in quest of fodder, wood, and plunder, they found everywhere still greater neglect and carelessness. At the outposts the arms were only piled; the soldiers, all unarmed, were sitting or lying on the ground, or strolling about before the intrenchments and gates. With this utterly heedless and disorderly multitude, the Romans, still warm from their late conflict, and with all the confidence of victory, joined battle. Resistance at the camp gates was quite impossible; but within them, at the very first shout and uproar there was a general rush from the whole camp, and a desperate fight began, which would have lasted long, had not the sight of the bloodstained shields of the Romans, proof to the Carthaginians of another disaster, struck terror into their hearts. Terror ended in flight, and they were driven out of their camp; all but those who had perished in the slaughter, pouring out where a way was open. Thus in a night and a day two camps of the enemy were stormed under the leadership of Lucius Marcius.

*Decisive victory
of the Romans.*

Thirty-seven thousand of the enemy were slain according to the Claudius who translated the annals of Acilius from Greek into Latin, upwards of eighteen hundred and thirty taken prisoners, with an immense booty, including a silver shield weighing a hundred and thirty-eight pounds, with an image of Hasdrubal, the son of Barca. Valerius Antias relates that only Mago's camp was taken, with a slaughter of seven thousand of the enemy, and that there was a second engagement with Hasdrubal, a sortie, in which there fell ten thousand, four thousand three hundred and thirty being captured. Five thousand, according to Piso's account, were cut down by the ambuscade, while Mago was wildly pursuing our retreating troops. In all these writers, the name of Marcius the general is prominent, and they even enhance his real glory by miraculous stories. While he was making his speech, a flame, they say, streamed from his head perceived by himself, to the great terror of the soldiers who stood round him. As a memorial too of his victory over the

*Carthaginian
losses.*

*Fame of the
Roman general.*

BOOK XXV. Carthaginians, there was in a certain temple, till the burning of the Capitol, a shield, called Marcius, with a likeness of Hasdrubal. Things were afterwards quiet in Spain for a long time, as both sides, after suffering and inflicting such terrible losses, hesitated to risk a decisive blow.

*The spoils of
Syracuse are
conveyed to
Rome.*

40. During these operations in Spain, Marcellus after taking Syracuse, and then settling the affairs of Sicily with such good faith and integrity, as to raise the grandeur of the Roman people as well as his own reputation, removed to Rome the chief ornaments of the city, the statues and the pictures in which Syracuse abounded. These, indeed, were an enemy's spoil, and acquired by the right of war; still, this was the first beginning of our admiration for the productions of Greek art, and of our modern licence in plundering indiscriminately things sacred and profane, a licence which at last extended to our own Roman cities, and to the very temple which Marcellus magnificently adorned. The time was when strangers would visit the temples dedicated by Marcellus at the Capena Gate, for the sake of the surpassingly beautiful ornaments in a style of decoration of which but scanty fragments are now visible. Envoys from almost all the states of Sicily flocked to him. Their circumstances were as different as their grounds for coming. Those who previous to the taking of Syracuse had either not revolted or had returned to our friendship, were welcomed and honoured as allies; those whom after the capture of the city, terror had driven to capitulate, had, as vanquished, to submit to the conqueror's conditions.

*Settlement of
affairs in Sicily.*

*The war not
yet over.*

*A new Cartha-
ginian leader.*

Still the Romans had to deal with some not inconsiderable remnants of the war in the neighbourhood of Agrigentum. There were Epicydes and Hanno, leaders who survived the late war, and with them a third and new leader whom Hannibal had sent to take the place of Hippocrates, one Hipponiates, of Libyphœnician origin (his fellow-countrymen called him Mutines), an enterprising man who had learnt the whole science of war under Hannibal's instructions. He had been furnished by Epicydes and Hanno with some Numidian auxiliaries, and with these he completely overran the territory of his enemies, while he visited allies to uphold them in their loyalty, and to render all who needed it seasonable help. And

so in a short time all Sicily was full of his name, and he was the great hope of all who favoured Carthaginian interests. Subsequently the Carthaginian and Syracusan generals, who had hitherto been confined within the walls of Agrigentum, prompted by self-confidence quite as much as by the advice of Mutines, ventured to leave the fortifications, and established a camp at the river Himera. News of this having reached Marcellus, he instantly set his army in motion, and encamped at a distance of about four miles from the enemy, with the intention of awaiting his movements and action. Mutines, however, at once crossed the river, and giving neither room nor opportunity for delay or strategy, threw himself on the advanced posts of the Romans to their great alarm and confusion. Next day, in an almost regular engagement, he drove them within their lines, when he was recalled by a mutiny of the Numidians in the camp, nearly three hundred of whom had retired to Heraclea Minoa. He went to soothe and bring them back, having meanwhile, it is said, earnestly warned the generals against engaging the enemy in his absence. Both commanders chafed at this, Hanno especially, who had already been fretting at his renown. To think, he said, "that Mutines should put a restraint on me—a low-born African on a Carthaginian general, sent by the senate and people." He prevailed on the hesitating Epicydes to let them cross the river and march out to battle, reminding him that, if they waited for Mutines, and the engagement had a successful issue, Mutines would unquestionably reap the glory.

*Marcellus
advances
against him.*

*Partial defeat
of the Romans.*

41. Marcellus, feeling it a monstrous disgrace that he who had driven Hannibal from Nola when confidently relying on his victory at Cannæ, should retreat before this enemy whom he had beaten by land and sea, ordered his soldiers to arm promptly and advance to the attack. While he was drawing up his army, ten Numidians came flying up to him at full gallop from the enemy's lines, to tell him that their comrades, already excited by the mutiny which had led to the departure of three hundred of their number to Heraclea, and now by seeing their officer superseded on the very day of battle by generals who envied his fame, would take no part in the engagement. Though treacherous people, they fulfilled their promise. Accordingly the spirits of the Romans rose, as the news was passed rapidly

*Numidian
treachery to the
Carthaginians.*

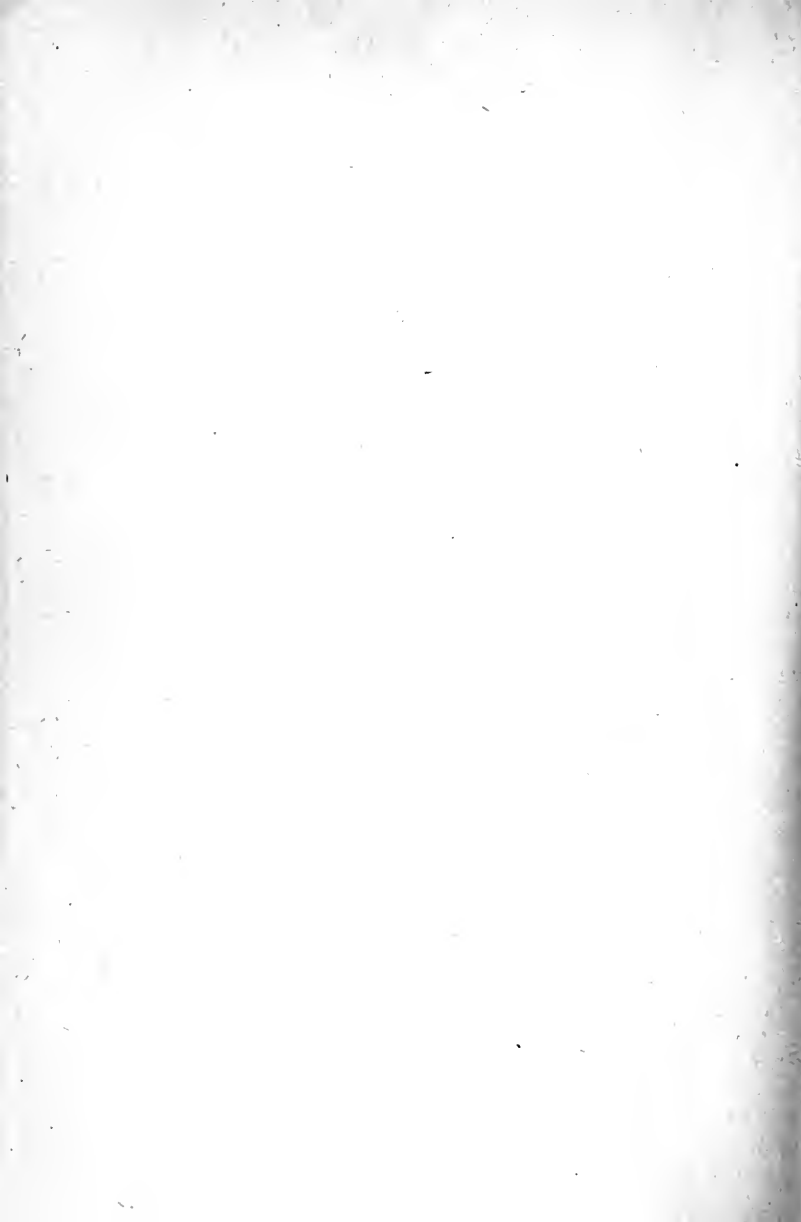
BOOK XXV. through the ranks that the enemy was deserted by his cavalry, which they chiefly feared. At the same time the foe was dismayed, not only by losing the aid of the chief part of his forces, but also by the fear of being attacked by his own cavalry. Consequently, the battle was not sharply contested. The first shout and onslaught decided the matter. The Numidians stood quietly on the wings as the armies met, and then the moment they saw their fellow-soldiers turning their backs, they became for a brief space their companions in flight, and when they found them making for Agrigentum in a panic-stricken retreat, dreading a siege, they dispersed at random throughout the neighbouring states. Several thousand men were slain and captured, and eight elephants. This was Marcellus's last battle in Sicily. He then returned victorious to Syracuse.

*He returns to
Syracuse.*

The year was now almost at its close. So the Senate at Rome decreed that the prætor, Publius Cornelius, was to send a despatch to the consuls at Capua, and that, while Hannibal was at a distance and no very critical operations were in progress at Capua, one of the consuls was to come to Rome to appoint the new magistrates. The consuls, on receiving the despatch, arranged between themselves that Claudius should conduct the elections, while Fabius remained at Capua. Claudius nominated to the consulate Cneius Fulvius Centumalus, and Publius Sulpicius Galba, the son of Servius, a man who had never previously held a curule magistracy. The following were then appointed prætors, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Caius Sulpicius, and Caius Calpurnius Piso. The city jurisdiction fell to Piso; Sulpicius had Sicily; Cethegus, Apulia; Lentulus, Sardinia. The powers of the consuls were extended for another year.

*New magis-
trates appointed
at Rome.*

NOTES.



NOTES ON BOOK XXI.

Ch. 1. *War indemnity. Stipendium*, which came to mean simply "tribute," was originally a tax imposed on a conquered country to pay the expenses of the conquest after the conclusion of the war. BOOK XXI.

Ch. 16. *The Sardi, Corsi, Histri, and Illyrii*. The reference is to events which occurred in the interval between the First and Second Punic Wars. Sardinia, at the close of the First Punic War, was still a Carthaginian dependency, held however by a precarious tenure, which the African war, or the war of Carthage with her mercenary troops in Africa, terminated, her mercenaries in the island joining in the movement of revolt, and being supported by the Romans. The result was that Carthage ceded Sardinia by treaty to Rome in B.C. 238, but in fact it was wholly in the hands of the native population, and was not properly a Roman province till B.C. 233, Corsica being annexed to it, though but imperfectly subdued.

The Corsi were a tribe of the interior of Sardinia, never, it is said, subjugated by the Carthaginians; though we may here assume the native tribes of Corsica, who with their Sardinian neighbours resisted Carthaginian encroachment, to be included under the name.

The Histri and Illyrii—cognate tribes, the first dwelling round the shores of the Gulf of Trieste, and deriving their name from Ister, the Greek designation of the Danube, one branch of which was supposed in very early times to flow into the north of the Adriatic—had annoyed the eastern coasts of Italy by piratical expeditions, more particularly in the years immediately preceding the Second Punic War. The chastisement which Rome felt it

BOOK XXI. necessary to inflict on them led to the hostilities here referred to.

Ch. 18. *The Roman in reply shook out the fold.* Such symbolical acts were characteristically Roman, entering into all the solemn transactions of life and commonly associated with legal usages.

Ch. 22. *Onusa.* So Madvig, extracting this reading out of *omissa* in the MSS. and *Honosca* in XXII. 20. Nothing is known of the place. *Etovissa*, suggested by Gronovius, appears to have been an *inland* city, whereas the context requires a place on the coast.

Ch. 31. *Such having been the feeling of the senate and chiefs.* It is to be noted that any political assembly, as that of the Gauls, as here, or the municipal body of any town, is always with Livy "senatus." We mark the distinction in the case of the Roman Senate by the capital initial.

The river Druentia. The Durance (described by Strabo, under the name Druentius, as a torrent river), which rises in Mont Genève and flows into the Rhone a little below Avignon.

Ch. 32. *Genua.* On the site of the modern Genoa. It is mentioned here for the first time in history. Its situation rendered it the key to Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul. As a Roman municipium it became a centre for the commerce of the district, but does not appear to have been a place of first-rate importance.

Ch. 49. *Orders having been publicly issued that the seamen, &c. Socii navales* we have always rendered "seamen." Both sailors and marines were included under the term, which had its origin in the fact that the Roman fleet, service in which was considered rather below the dignity of a citizen, was manned partly from the allies, partly also from the lowest class of citizens and from freedmen. In a passage in Book XLII. ch. 31, Livy tells us that on one occasion the *socii navales* or *seamen* were to be drawn from Roman citizens and from the allies in the proportion of two to one, but we have no reason to suppose that this was the usual practice.

NOTES ON BOOK XXII.

Ch. 1. *The goddess Feronia.* Feronia (the name contains BOOK XXII. the same root as *fero*, φέρω) was one of the old Italian deities, associated with the earth and its productive powers, coupled also and almost identified with Juno in inscriptions, in which we have "Juno Feronia." She occupied, it seems, rather a prominent place in the old Italian worship. One of her temples, often referred to by Livy, near Mount Soracte (Monte S. Oreste) and the city Capena, was the centre of a great festival and fair, and here manumitted slaves took the "cap of liberty." It was a place of general resort from all parts of Italy, and a town named after the goddess grew up on the spot.

Ch. 13. *Casinum.* The name survives in the Benedictine cloister of the Monte Cassino. The old city stood on the hill, the modern San Germano being at the foot. It was an important point strategically, as it commanded the communications between the rich plain of Latium stretching to the coast and the high lands of the interior. Hannibal's guides may have been misled into confounding it with Casilinum from his Phœnician pronunciation of the *s* as *sh*.

Ch. 18. *Gereonium.* "A poor fort in Apulia," it is called in ch. 39,—near Larinum.

Ch. 20. *Esparto grass.* A natural grass described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*) as "rushes peculiar to a dry soil." It served for ship-cordage, its thread-like leaves answering the purpose of hemp.

Castulo. Castulo, on the upper course of the Guadalquivir, was at this time one of the chief cities of Southern Spain, as the district round it was rich in copper, lead, and silver mines. It was decidedly Carthaginian in feeling, and from it Hannibal married his wife.

Ch. 21. *Ilergavonia.* A district, it would seem, along the coast to the west of the Ebro, extending as far as the mouth of the Uduba or Mijares. The name appears on coins of the city Ibera.

Nova Classis. Some point probably between Ilerda and Tarraco. The name occurs nowhere else.

BOOK XXII.

Ch. 33. *An embassy was sent to Philip, king of Macedon, to demand the extradition of Demetrius of Pharos.* Pharos, now Lesina, was an island off the coast of Illyria, in the occupation of Greek colonists from Paros in the Ægean. The incident here referred to grew out of piratical attacks made from Illyria on the opposite coasts of Italy. In these this Demetrius, who was a Greek, had taken a leading part. He had been in the service of Teuta, queen of the Illyrians (mother of the Pineus mentioned below), and had helped her in war with Rome, but he soon deserted her, and treacherously surrendered Corcyra (Corfu) to the Romans, who at the conclusion of the Illyrian war rewarded him by intrusting him with the government of Illyria, with the intention that the country should be a Roman dependency. As soon however as Rome was involved in the war with the Cisalpine Gauls, and there were rumours of Hannibal's advance upon Italy, Demetrius allied himself with Antigonus Doson, king of Macedon, and annoyed the Romans by piratical expeditions. In B.C. 219, he was promptly punished by the consul Lucius Æmilius, was driven out of Pharos and forced to seek refuge with Philip of Macedon, the nephew of Antigonus. Here he lived for the rest of his life, and was the king's trusted political adviser. It was at his prompting that Philip sought the Carthaginian alliance, and became the declared enemy of Rome. The battle of Cynoscephalæ in B.C. 198, in which Philip was defeated by Flamininus, reduced him to the humble position of a Roman dependent. He was a clever, scheming, ambitious man, and certainly one of the ablest of the kings of Macedon. He was the last but one of these kings, his son Perseus being decisively beaten by the Romans at Pydus, in B.C. 168, Macedon then becoming a Roman province.

Ch. 50. *Latin allies* (Latinus socius). Usually Livy speaks of the Latins as "Latinum nomen," thus distinguishing them from the other allied peoples of Italy, whose connection with Rome dated from a much later period than that of the Latins. Still, so long as they were not politically incorporated with the Romans, they were but allies, though allies held in peculiar esteem and honour.

Ch. 52. *Three hundred "chariot pieces."* *Quadrigati* were "denarii" with a *quadriga* or four-horse chariot stamped on

them, as sometimes too the same coin had the impression of a BOOK XXII. "biga," or two-horse chariot. It was a favourite device. Three hundred denarii would be about 10*l.* 15*s.*, the "denarius" being equivalent to nearly 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

The Senate voted her public honours. A vote of thanks, as we say, to which may very possibly have been added some substantial mark of respect, as a statue and a handsome present. Rome generally acknowledged a service rendered to the State.

Ch. 57. *Fabius Pictor.* The same whom Livy speaks of as *scriptor antiquissimus* (i. 44), the oldest, that is, of Roman writers.

NOTES ON BOOK XXIII.

Ch. 14. *The customary application to the popular assembly for permission to use a horse.* There was an old law, says Plutarch (*Life of Fabius*, iv.), which forbade a dictator to ride on horseback; the reason, he conjectures, being either that the Romans, considering that their military strength chiefly consisted in infantry, thought that a commander ought to serve on foot in the ranks, or that they fancied that the use of a horse rather savoured of royalty, and that it was as well that a dictator, great man as he was, ought to be made to feel that his power was derived from the people. The Romans, we know, were very conservative, and so instead of repealing this strange statute, they preferred that a dictator, as soon as he was appointed, should make a special application to the popular assembly for permission to ride on horseback. The greater the powers of an officer, the more necessary they felt it to mark distinctly the popular origin of those powers.

Ch. 24. *A vast forest which the Gauls called Litana.* Somewhere, it would seem, in the country between Bononia and Placentia.

Ch. 32. *The public reservoir* (piscinam publicam). It was swimming bath and also a place for exercise according to Festus. "The name," he says, "still remains," though in his day the reservoir or bath was a thing of the past.

Ch. 33. *The temple of Juno Lacinia.* It stood on the Lacinian promontory (*Capo delle Colonnæ* or *Capo Nau*), a little

BOOK XXIII. to the south of Croton, and tradition said that it had been founded by Hercules. Livy tells us (XXVIII. 46) that Hannibal, before he finally left Italy, raised an altar near this temple, with an inscription in Greek and Carthaginian which gave a short account of his campaigns.

Ch. 36. *Tifata*. The same word as *iliceta* (oak-copses), according to Festus. The range of hills was about a mile from Capua.

Ch. 39. *Heracleitus, surnamed Scotinus*. It looks as if "Scotinus" was the addition of some ignorant copyist, who supposed the man to be the famous Heracleitus of the sixth century B.C., to whom was given the title of *σκοτεινός*, from his obscurity. Possibly, however, this Heracleitus may have claimed descent from the great philosopher, and assumed the name out of foolish vanity.

Ch. 40. *The Pelliti-Sardi*. A highland tribe of Sardinia, to whom the Romans gave this name because they wore skins (pelles).

Ch. 47. *I would not be an ass in a ditch* (Minime, sis, cantherium in fossa). The meaning clearly is, "I would not put myself into a helpless and ridiculous plight," and perhaps there is an allusion to the man's name, Asellus. It seems more likely that it was an old rustic proverb, founded on the well-known helplessness of a horse or an ass in a ditch, than that it became a proverb, as Livy represents, from the incident here related.

NOTES ON BOOK XXIV.

Ch. 1. *The Greek towns*. Rhegium, Locri, Croton, were the chief of these. According to XXII. 61, the two latter towns had already joined Hannibal, just after the battle of Cannæ. (See also, XXIII. 30.) Locri, however, in the following year, again put itself under the protection of Rome (XXIII. 41.)

Ch. 6. *The river Himera*. Now the Fiume Salso, flowing into the Mediterranean from the south coast of Sicily. There was another and smaller river Himera, flowing north, at the mouth of which stood the city of the same name.

Not only Hiero but likewise king Pyrrhus. The father of

Hieronymus was Gelon, Hiero's son, and Gelon's wife was a daughter of Pyrrhus of Epirus. BOOK XXIV.

Ch. 7. *An empty house (liberas ædes)*. Livy's meaning has been thought to be what we call "free quarters," and the phrase certainly does mean this in other passages, as in XXX. 17, XXXV. 23. But here the context seems decidedly to point to our rendering. An empty house would best suit the purpose of conspirators.

Ch. 18. *Was paid for by a note of credit from the quæstor (a quæstore perscribebatur)*. "Perscribere pecuniam," is to give a promissory note in lieu of cash payment; sometimes we have the simple "scribere" in this sense, as in Horace, *Sat.* II. 3, 69, *scribe decem a Nerio*, "make your debtor sign ten promissory notes after the forms drawn up by Nerius."

Ch. 20. *Salapia*. Now Salpi. The place had revolted to Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ (see XXII. 61, where, though not mentioned, it would be included among the Greek cities of the coast). It was on the coast of Apulia, and had a large Greek element in its population drawn from Tarentum, and the neighbouring Greek colonies in those parts.

Ch. 22. *Of a free state degenerating into a savage community (ne libera efferetur respublica)*. The common reading *efferatur (be carried out to burial)* may be justified by a similar usage of the word in XXVIII. 28, "meo unius funere *elata* populi Romani respublica," and no doubt the notion thus conveyed of utter ruin and extinction suits the context. Madvig reads *efferetur*, a conjecture of Dœring, with good reason, we think.

Ch. 27. *Murgantia*. This place must have been on the bay of Catania, possibly at the mouth of the Simeto, unless Livy has made a mistake, as it would appear that the town usually known by this name was an inland city of great antiquity, deriving, perhaps, its name from Morgetes, a prehistoric people, associated in tradition with southern Italy and Sicily. Livy mentions it again, in 36 and 39, as garrisoned by Roman troops, and serving as an important corn dépôt.

Ch. 30. *Herbesus*. Not very far from Syracuse, of which it is probably a dependency, and near Leontini. There was another Herbesus near Agrigentum, but it was a place of small importance.

BOOK XXIV.

Megara. Known also as Hybla (several towns of Sicily had this name), and so called by Livy (xxvi. 21), this being the old Sicilian name previous to the founding of the Greek colony of Megara, which seems to have been a flourishing place till it was taken and almost destroyed by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, about B.C. 481, its population being removed to Syracuse. The place, which at this time was little better than a village, was spoken of indifferently as Hybla, or Megara, or occasionally as the Hyblæan Megara. Cicero (*Verres*, v. 25) simply speaks of it as "a place not far from Syracuse."

Ch. 35. *Helorus.* A Syracusan dependency, some distance to the south of Syracuse, at the mouth of the river of the same name, now known as the Abisso.

Heraclea—Minoa. The origin of the place, which was on the south coast of Sicily, to the west of Agrigentum, was commonly attributed in old legends to Hercules and to Minos of Crete. It seems to have been an important Carthaginian naval station, consequently the name often occurs in the history of the First Punic War.

Ch. 37. *Enna.* Now Castro Giovanni, Italian form of Castro Janni, its native Sicilian name, Janni being a corruption from di Enna. It appears to have been originally an old Sicilian, not a Greek, city. It was an important position from a military point of view, standing as it did on a height, or rather table-land, almost exactly in the centre of the island, with a rich corn-growing district round it. It was a very ancient seat of the worship of Ceres (Demeter) and Proserpine.

Ch. 40. *Oricum—Apollonia.* Towns near together on the Illyrian shores of the Adriatic, and now represented by Erikló and Pollina. Oricum was a very convenient harbour for communication between Italy and Greece. Apollonia, a Corinthian colony (Thucydides, i. 26), was a considerable place, and became in the last days of the Roman republic the seat of a university much in favour with the Roman nobility.

Ch. 41. *White Camp* (Castrum Album). Not very far to the west of the Ebro it may be presumed from Livy's narrative, but we have no clue to the precise locality.

Ch. 42. *Munda.* Not, it would seem, the modern Monda.

but some place near Cordova. Here, in B.C. 45, Julius Cæsar BOOK XXIV gained one of his great victories.

Aurinx. From XXVIII. 3, it appears that this was an important position. The country round was fertile and contained silver mines.

Ch. 44. *The river at Terracina.* That is, the confluence of the Ufens (Ufente) and the Amasenus (Amaseno), the two rivers whose stagnant waters formed, to a great extent, the Pomptine marshes, on the borders of which Terracina was situated.

Jupiter Vicilinus. Some local god probably (the place is unknown), identified with Jupiter, as Jupiter Anxurus (Virgil, *Æn.* VII. 799). At Anxur (this was the old Italian name of Terracina) there was according to Livy (XXVIII. 11) a temple of Jupiter.

The river at Amiternum. The Aternus (Aterno), near the sources of which, in the Apennines, stood the old Sabine town of Amiternum, the birthplace of the historian Sallust. Its ruins are still to be traced at San Vittorino.

Ch. 47. *The salt-works* (Salinæ). Somewhere, it has been conjectured, by the banks of the Tiber, near the Porta Trigemina. Livy can hardly mean the salt-works at Ostia, attributed to Ancus Martius (I. 33).

Æquimalian. Livy explains the name (IV. 16) as marking the spot on which had stood the house of the demagogue Spurius Mælius, which tradition said was levelled to the ground (solo æquata), at the bidding of the dictator Cincinnatus, B.C. 436. It was at the foot of the Capitoline hill. Compare Cicero, *De Domo sua*, 38, where the origin of the name is strangely explained in relation to the justice (æquum) of the punishment of Mælius.

NOTES ON BOOK XXV.

Ch. 1. *Any prophetic books* (libros vaticinos). Compare Tacitus, *Ann.* VI. 12, where we hear of a debate in the Senate about some alleged verses of the Sibyl. The sort of imposture here noticed seems to have been as common at Rome as the stories of portents and prodigies

BOOK XXV.

Ch. 2. *As he was not yet of the legal age.* Scipio was only in his 23rd year at this time. The quæstorship was the regular step to the curule ædileship, and Scipio had not been quæstor. As yet, however, no law was in existence defining the exact age at which a man might be a candidate for the various public offices, from the quæstorship to the consulate. Such a law was subsequently passed in 180 B.C. (Livy, XL. 44), and was known as the *lex annalis*. But it is probable that from a much earlier time there had been a law prescribing a limit of age to the first entrance on public life, and so Livy after all may have stated the objection of the tribunes to Scipio's candidature quite correctly.

Ch. 3. *The act of one Marcus Postumius.* In XXIII. 49, Livy dwells on the "scrupulous fidelity" with which contracts for the supply of the armies were performed, but in the gross fraud here related we have an evidence of something like a decay of public spirit in the moneyed class, in which the tax-farmers (*publicani*) were a conspicuous element, and also of the growing political importance of this class. The strain on the resources of the State occasioned by the Second Punic War, gave great opportunities to wealthy contractors, and from that time the "tax-farmer" became a distinct power in Rome, answering to the negotiators of public loans in our own day. In the last age of the republic, when Rome's conquests had extended to Greece and Asia, he had become quite indispensable to a statesman, as we gather from several passages in Cicero.

Two hundred thousand pounds of copper. That is, of the "æ^s grave," the copper pound, the old known standard of value, in which fines were still calculated. The amount of this fine would be rather under £800, the old "as" (æ^s grave) being reckoned at about seven-eighths of our penny.

The enfranchised Latins (*Latini*). As yet the Latins had no vote in the Roman comitia, and either there must be some mistake on Livy's part, or some error in the text, or else there must have been some *partial* enfranchisement of this particularly friendly and closely-allied people, of which we have not heard. Gronovius assumed an error and struck out *Latini*, taking Livy's meaning to be that the question to be determined was which of the thirty-five tribes should go first to the poll.

Ch. 5. *An election was then held to appoint a supreme*

pontiff. A popular election (comitia) must be meant, which was not the ordinary method of making such appointments, the college of pontiffs having the right of co-optation till B.C. 104, when, with the progress of democracy, they were deprived of it. Either Livy has blundered, or else the college could not agree as to the choice of a "supreme pontiff," and referred the matter to the assembly of the commons. The latter seems the more probable alternative.

Assize-towns (conciliabula). Small Italian towns in which local officials, somewhat resembling our unpaid magistracy, administered justice for the district.

Ch. 7. *Matuta*. Cicero (*Tusc.* I. 12; *De Naturâ Deorum*, III. 19) and Ovid (*Fasti*, VI. 545) identify her with the Greek *Leucothea*, the deified Ino, daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia; but in all probability she was an old Italian deity, the goddess of early morn, her name perhaps being connected with mane, matutinus, &c. It may be that the worship of Matuta was the worship of Juno under a particular aspect, and the name may be simply an equivalent of "mater."

Ch. 8. *The two noblest Greek communities in Italy*. Tarentum itself, the chief of these communities, and Thurii, or Metapontum.

Ch. 12. *Marcus*. Cicero (*De Divinatione*, I. 40) mentions the "brothers Marcii" along with Calchas, Amphiaraus, Teiresias, Cassandra, &c., as instances of a distinctly recognised natural gift of inspiration, though in the same treatise (II. 55) he speaks of their utterances as "partim ficta aperte, partim effutita emere." The verses of this old Italian bard were ranked with those of the Sibyl, and treasured up with them in the Capitol.

Ch. 14. *A Pelignian cohort*. The Peligni, a Sabine tribe in central Italy, in the valley of the Gizio, furnished some of Rome's best auxiliary troops, *cohortes*, as they were called.

Ch. 15. *Achaia*. Greece, as we should say, from which Tarentum, Metapontum, Thurii, all derived their origin; the first being a Spartan colony, and the last made up of Greek migrants from different states in the fifth century B.C., Athens taking the lead. As to Metapontum, and the circumstances and time of its foundation, tradition greatly varied.

Ch. 21. *The left wing of the allies* (sinistra ala). In

BOOK XXV. Rome's allied or auxiliary troops, the *ala* answered to the Roman *legio* and to our brigade; and it appears that every contingent furnished by the allies was divided into a *dextra* and a *sinistra ala*, without special reference to the position they might take up on the battle-field, though of course the term *ala* may originally have pointed to such a position.

Ch. 30. *The fountain of Arethusa*. This famous fountain in the island of Ortygia is described by Cicero (*In Verrem*, IV. 53) as marvellously copious (*incredibili magnitudine*) and abundantly stocked with fish. It was, he says, protected from the sea by a stone barrier. Livy's narrative here is not clear, and suggests that he did not know accurately the situation of this fountain, which being in Ortygia, was separated from the Achradina by the lesser port. He seems to have thought it was on the mainland in the Achradina, where the Spaniard Mœricus had his post.

Ch. 37. *Lucius Marcius*. The achievements of this man seem to have been grossly exaggerated by Livy, as we may infer from his statement of the enemy's losses in Ch. 39, though he takes care to give these on the authority of a certain Claudius. The successes of Marcius were at any rate not sufficiently decisive to prevent Hasdrubal four years afterwards marching from Spain into Italy at the head of a large army.

Ch. 39. *Claudius*. Not, it would seem, Claudius Licinus, or Claudius Quadrigarius, authors elsewhere referred to by Livy, who lived in the early part of the first century B.C. By describing him as the translator of the chronicles of Acilius, Livy no doubt means to distinguish him from these writers. Acilius is mentioned by Cicero (*De Officiis*, III. 32) as a Roman who wrote a history of the Second Punic War in Greek, and he quotes from him the story (told also by Livy, XXII. 61) of the Roman prisoners taken after Cannæ, who thought themselves released from their oath to Hannibal because they had gone back to his camp on special business.

Ch. 40. *Temples dedicated by Marcellus*. Temples to Honor and Virtus, dedicated, not however by the great Marcellus (Livy, XXVII. 25), some technical objections being raised by the college of pontiffs, but by his son.

CHARACTER OF HANNIBAL (XXI. 4).

LIVY'S brief and vigorous sketch of Hannibal's character should be supplemented by Polybius's estimate of him (IX. 22-26), which is carefully worked out and may no doubt be accepted as tolerably impartial. The cruelty and perfidy, on which the Roman historian dwells, are hardly noticed by Polybius, except as having been attributed to him in certain quarters, and there is really not much evidence of them even in Livy's own narrative, if we judge him by the standard of the age. In fact, his "more than Punic perfidy" (*perfidia plus quam Punica*), does not seem to have been anything much worse than a consummate adroitness in laying traps for his enemies. It may be, too, that Livy had in his mind the arts, fair enough surely under the circumstances, by which the Carthaginian won over to his own side some of the Italian cities in which dissensions between the upper and lower classes gave him an opening. According to Polybius, "some said he was horribly cruel, some that he was very rapacious," but of his alleged cruelties, many were to be set down to a certain Hannibal Monomachus, one of his friends and advisers, with whom he was confounded. As to his rapacity, he got credit for this vice through employing the services of an unscrupulous plunderer, one Mago, in Bruttium. These seem rather poor excuses for serious faults, and Polybius has to admit that his countrymen, the Carthaginians, thought Hannibal rapacious, and his enemies, the Romans, thought him cruel. Of course it at once occurs to us that at Carthage there was a violent political party against him and his policy, and so not much weight perhaps ought to be attached to an imputation from such a quarter. On the whole, Polybius's sympathies

appear to be with him, and he more than once remarks on the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the exact truth about men who have made a conspicuous figure in the world's history. The embarrassing position in which Hannibal found himself after the recovery of Capua by the Romans, when he had to hold his ground with inferior numbers against several hostile armies, may very well, he admits, have driven him into harsh and cruel acts, or at least into acts which, from a Roman point of view, would have been so described. The fact that for sixteen years he held together without mutiny or disaffection an army composed of such heterogeneous elements, "Libyans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Celts, Carthaginians, Italians, Greeks," was, to the mind of Polybius, a convincing proof of his surpassing genius. In this, indeed, if well considered, with all that it implies, was chiefly shown the greatness of this extraordinary man. Had he begun his career with the conquest of other nations and countries, and reserved the Romans for his last efforts, Polybius confidently maintains that he could not have failed of success.

HANNIBAL'S ROUTE ACROSS THE ALPS.

It is interesting to compare Polybius's account of Hannibal's passage of the Alps with that of Livy. Polybius lived during the Second Punic War; he had access to particularly good sources of information, had travelled in the Alps, and was a careful and accurate writer. The following is his account (see Polybius, III. 50—56):—

Quitting the island at the junction of the Rhone and Isère, Hannibal marched about eighty miles along the first-named river and then began his ascent of the lower slopes of the Alps. Here he found himself exposed to extreme danger. As long as his army was on level ground, the petty chiefs of the Allobroges did not meddle with them, as they were afraid of his cavalry and of his barbarian escort. But as soon as this escort left him and he began to enter a rough and difficult country, these chiefs united their strength and occupied all the commanding positions along the route through which the ascent had to be made. Had they concealed their plan, they would have utterly destroyed the Carthaginian army, but they allowed it to be discovered, and although they inflicted serious injury on Hannibal's troops, they suffered as much themselves. Aware of the occupation of these positions by the enemy, the Carthaginian general made a halt at the points where the ascent began, and despatched some of his Gallic guides to observe the enemy's designs and their whole plan of operations. They did this, and informed Hannibal that the enemy kept vigilant guard by day, but at night went away to a town in the neighbourhood. So Hannibal, adapting his movements to the circumstances of the case, openly advanced, and on approaching the difficult ground, encamped at no great distance

from the enemy. On the following night he ordered fires to be lit, and leaving most of his army in camp, took with him his best men, lightly equipped, marched through the narrow passes in the darkness, and secured the points previously occupied by the enemy, who had, as usual, gone away to the town.

As soon as it was day, the enemy perceived what had happened. At first they abstained from any hostile movement, but when they saw the long line of draught-beasts and of cavalry struggling painfully over the difficult ground, they felt encouraged to hang on them as they marched, and attacking at several points, inflicted heavy loss on the Carthaginians, more especially on their cavalry and their beasts of burden. The disaster was due to the locality rather than to the enemy's strength. For, as the ascent was narrow, rugged, and precipitous, any movement or confusion was enough to hurl a number of the draught-cattle over the crags with all that they carried, and such confusion was more particularly caused by the wounded horses. Some of these in their terror fell foul of the draught-beasts, and others in rushing forward pushed aside everything that was in their way, causing great disorder. Seeing all this, and convinced that the destruction of his baggage-train would be the ruin of his army, even if they escaped the immediate danger, Hannibal, with the men who had secured the heights on the previous night, hurried to the assistance of the troops who were pressing on their march. He attacked the enemy from the heights, killed a number of them, but lost as many of his own men, for the confusion along the line of march was aggravated by the noisy disorder of which I have already spoken and by the fighting at close quarters. At last he had slaughtered the greater part of the Allobroges and had driven the rest in flight back to their homes, and now the remainder of his draught-beasts and horses made their way painfully over the rugged ground. With all the men whom he could get together out of this perilous position, he assaulted the town from which the enemy had made their attacks, and finding it deserted by its inhabitants, who had all gone out in quest of booty, he made himself master of it, with a highly advantageous result to himself both in regard to the present and the future. For he thus recovered at the time a number of horses and draught-beasts and of men who had been taken along with them,

and he secured for the two or three following days a plentiful supply of corn and meat. Best of all, he struck terror into the other barbarian tribes, so that none of those near his line of ascent dared molest him.

Having encamped a day at this point, he then proceeded on his march in safety, for a time at least. But on the fourth day he was again in great peril. The inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood, leagued in a treacherous design, came with boughs and garlands, a usual token of friendship with barbarians, just as the herald's wand is with the Greeks. Hannibal, who was on his guard against such overtures, closely scrutinised their intentions and, indeed, their plans generally. When they said that they were well aware of the capture of the town and the destruction of those who had tried to do him injury, and declared further that this was the object of their coming, and that they had no wish to inflict or to suffer harm, and even offered guarantees of their good faith, Hannibal still hesitated some time and distrusted their professions. On reflecting, however, that they might possibly be more circumspect and more peaceably disposed if he accepted their offers, whereas if he rejected them, they would be his open enemies, he fell in with their proposals and professed willingness to be friends with them. The barbarians then gave their guarantees, supplied his army with an abundance of meat, and, indeed, put themselves unreservedly in his power. For a while Hannibal and his men had full confidence in them, and even accepted their guidance at any difficult point. During two days they accompanied the army in a body, but as it was passing through a steep and rocky gorge, they made an attack.

Hannibal and his troops must have perished utterly at this crisis, had he not still had some fears for the future and ranged his baggage and cavalry in the van, and his heavy-armed troops in the rear. With these in reserve to keep off the attack of the barbarians, the disaster was less than it might otherwise have been. Yet, even as it was, very many of the soldiers, of the draught-beasts, and of the horses, were destroyed, for the enemy, being in occupation of the heights and moving along the slopes parallel to the line of march, seriously alarmed and endangered the army, rolling down rocks on the men, and sometimes pelting

them with stones at close quarters. Hannibal was actually forced to pass a night with half his army round a white rock in a strong position, cut off from his horses and his baggage, for which he waited, while they were all night struggling out of the gorge. Next day, when the enemy had retired, he joined his cavalry and baggage, and led them up the upper slopes of the Alps. Here the barbarians did not meet him with their united forces, but annoyed him at different points and in small detachments. Part of the baggage they carried off both from the van and from the rear by well-timed attacks, and now it was that the elephants were of the greatest service. Any point on the line of march where they stood, the enemy, who were terror-stricken at their strange appearance, dared not approach. On the ninth day Hannibal reached the higher slopes, and there encamped two days, as he wished those of his men who had arrived safely to have a rest, and to wait for those whom he had left behind. During this interval many of the horses that had been scared away and many of the draught-beasts that had flung off their loads, following the track of the army, came in unexpectedly and joined the camp.

It was near the setting of the Pleiades, when snow accumulates on the mountain-tops, and Hannibal, noting the despondency of most of his men because of the misery they had already endured and which they still anticipated, made an effort to cheer them by the only means in his power. Calling them together, he pointed them to the now clear prospect of Italy, which lay at the foot of the mountains. To one who takes in the view both ways, the Alps look like a citadel in relation to the whole of Italy. Showing them the plains round the Po, and generally reminding them of the favourable disposition of the Gauls who dwelt there, he revived for a time the spirits of his soldiers. On the morrow he broke up his camp and began the descent. Here, indeed, he fell in with no enemies except such as stealthily molested him, but from the nature of the ground and the snow he lost almost as many as had perished in the ascent. The descent was narrow and precipitous, and the snow made a man's footing uncertain and precarious. Whatever missed the path fell, and rolled over the precipice. The men, however, were so used to these dangers that they patiently

endured all this wretchedness, but when they reached a place so narrow that the elephants and draught-cattle could not pass it, where for nearly three hundred yards the rock was broken away, to say nothing of a recent landslip, they again fell into alarm and despondency. At first the Carthaginian general endeavoured to get round this difficult point, but more snow falling and rendering this impossible, he gave up the attempt.

What now happened was something strange and unusual. On the old snow of last winter fell the snow of this year, which, being fresh and soft, and of no considerable depth, was easily pushed aside. When, however, they had trodden through it and reached the hard frozen snow under it, they could not break their way through this, but had to slip and slide along with both feet, like one who walks over a muddy surface. And what now ensued was still worse. Not being able to dig their feet into this lower snow, whenever they fell and tried to support themselves by their knees or hands in their efforts to rise, they slid along all the more, hands and knees giving way on the long steep slopes. As for the draught-beasts, when they fell, they broke clean through the ice in struggling to rise, and then, from their weight, stuck fast, just as if they had been frozen in, along with their burdens. Finding his attempt hopeless, Hannibal encamped on the ridge after clearing away the snow; then he employed most of his men in the very laborious work of constructing a road over the crag, and thus enabled the draught-beasts and horses to pass down it. Having accomplished this, he moved his camp to a place free from snow, and let the beasts go to graze. Meanwhile he employed his Numidian soldiers by detachments in the work of making the road, and after three days of great hardships he brought his elephants through the pass. They were in a miserable plight from hunger, for the tops of the Alps and the higher slopes are quite treeless and bare in consequence of the perpetual snow. The middle slopes on both sides are wooded and abound in trees, and are altogether habitable.

And now, having assembled all his forces, Hannibal continued the descent. On the third day after quitting the precipitous pass I have described he touched level ground. Many of his men had he lost on his march by the enemy and in the rivers he had crossed, and many more amid the precipices and

rugged passes of the Alps, with a yet greater multitude of horses and draught-cattle. The entire march from New Carthage he had at last accomplished in five months, fifteen days having been occupied in the passage of the Alps. Then he fearlessly descended into the plains round the Po and the country of the Isombri, with twelve thousand infantry, the remnant of his Libyan troops, and eight thousand Spaniards. His cavalry in all did not exceed six thousand. These particulars he himself has clearly stated on the column at Lacinium, on which are inscribed the numbers of his army.

Between this and Livy's account of Hannibal's actual passage of the Alps and its incidents there is an obvious resemblance, here and there a very close resemblance ; but as to his movements after leaving the Island, and the route by which he approached the Alps, there is a very decided discrepancy. It is now, we believe, generally agreed that Livy and Polybius cannot be reconciled as to the route which from that point Hannibal took. Livy implies that after leaving the Island he marched south-east, skirting the territory of the Vocontii till he came to the river Druentia, the modern Durance. When he had done with the Allobroges, "he turned leftwards," says the historian, speaking from his own, not from Hannibal's, point of view. This seems to mean that from the neighbourhood of Valence Hannibal marched into what is now the department of the Drome, that he followed the course of the river of the same name to Die—then known as Dea Vocontiorum—and from thence made his way northwards to Briançon, or southwards to Embrun. In either case the Durance would have been crossed (at what point Livy does not fix), and he would have passed the Alps over the Mont Genève, entering Italy near Turin. Polybius's account of Hannibal's route after leaving the Island is quite different. He makes him march "along the river" (the Rhone it must be presumed, not the Isère, which he could hardly so describe without greatly confusing his narrative) for about eighty miles, and by this expression (*παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*), which is unfortunately vague, we suppose him to mean "up the river," as otherwise Hannibal would be simply retracing his steps, a circumstance which would surely be noted. He may

thus have marched up the Rhone as far as Vienne, then turned eastwards till he reached the pass of Mont du Chat, and from that point have crossed the Alps by the Little St. Bernard, and entered Italy by Aosta. To this view the narrative of Polybius on the whole points, but his account, it must be admitted, is vague, and susceptible of more than one interpretation. He gives no local names to help us in tracing Hannibal's route from the Island to the first slopes of the Alps, and, indeed, dismisses the matter in a single line. If we are to attempt to reconcile him with Livy, we must, it would seem, understand by *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* that Hannibal marched down the river and not up it.

His statement that Hannibal "descended into the plains round the Po and the country of the Isombri," or Insubres, is too vague to build any conclusion on it. The tribe which occupied the neighbourhood of Aosta was known as the Salassi; but the chief people of Cisalpine Gaul were the Insubres, and Polybius may very well have extended their territory to the whole country. He does not, in fact, at all fix the point at which, or near which, Hannibal entered Italy. The geography of the district was in his day too indistinctly known for him to do this.

Livy, as we see (xxi. 38) held himself that the point at which Hannibal crossed was as certain as anything could be, though he candidly admits that it was a matter of controversy. He rests on the tradition that he first encountered the tribe of the Taurini. The pass of Mont Genève, over what were then called the Julian or the Cottian Alps, was familiar to the Romans of his day; that of the Little St. Bernard, over the so-called Graian Alps, was only just beginning to be a regular line of communication between Italy and Gaul. Yet it is to be noted that Cælius Antipater, a writer of the second century B.C., to whom Livy often refers as an authority, and whom he quotes here, though only to express dissent, represented Hannibal as crossing "by the heights of Cremona;" and if we may venture to identify this with the Cramont, he must have held that it was by the Little St. Bernard pass that the Carthaginians entered Italy.

In this controverted question Polybius is decisively preferred to Livy by modern opinion, as specially represented by Niebuhr

and Mommsen, and the Little St. Bernard is generally thought to be the pass which Polybius meant to describe. In Mr. Capes's *Livy*, Books XXI. XXII., Appendix I ("The Route of Hannibal"), the subject is clearly and concisely discussed; all the main data of the problem are fully given, and the conclusion arrived at is that which has just been stated.

NOTE ON SYRACUSE (XXIV. 21).

SYRACUSE consisted of four quarters, each in itself a city. They were known as the Island (whence *Nasus* (*νήσος*), in XXV. 29), Tycha, Achradina, and Neapolis.

The best and fullest description of Syracuse, as it was in the first century B.C., still a great and magnificent city, though with its old glories greatly diminished, is given us by Cicero, in his speeches against Verres (IV. 52, 53). It is as follows:—

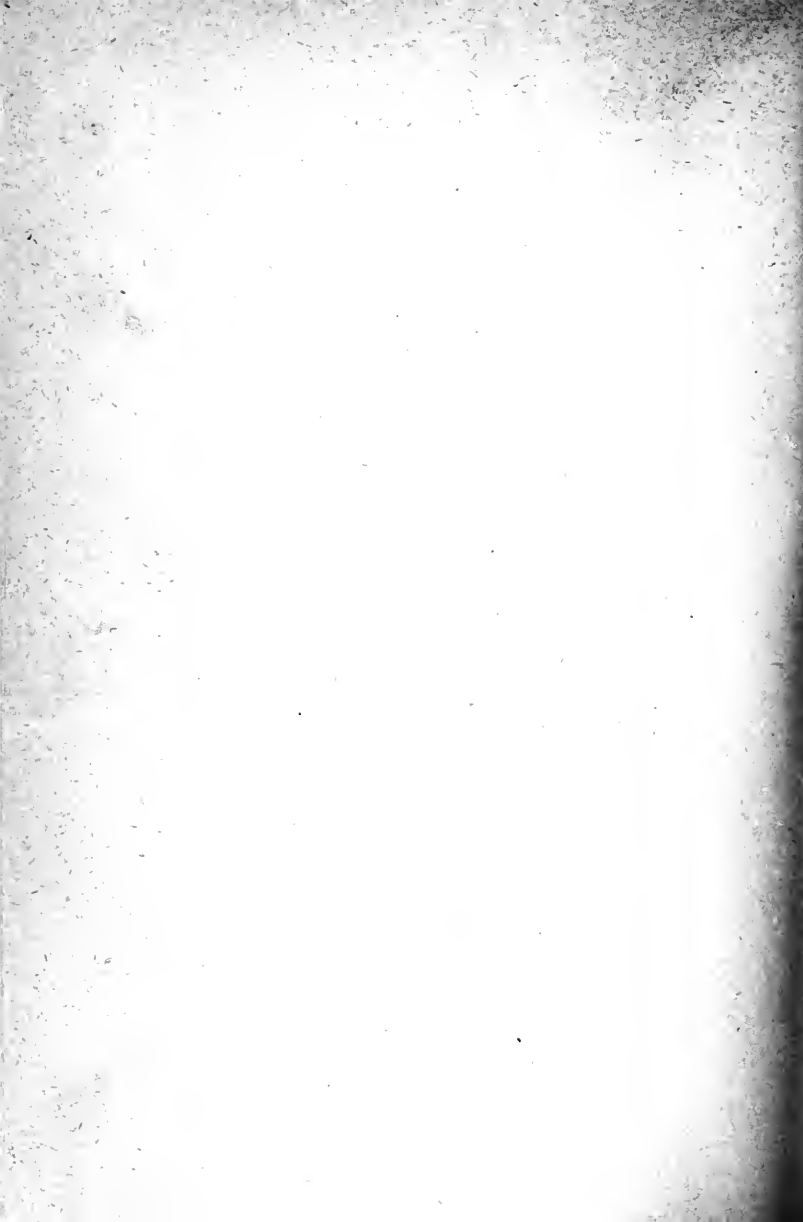
“Syracuse, you have often heard, is the largest and finest of Greek cities. So indeed it is. It stands in a particularly strong position, and, whether you approach it by sea or land, it is singularly beautiful to behold. It has two harbours, almost surrounded by the buildings of the city, and thus forming with it one object to the eye of the spectator. They have separate entrances, but they join and meet at the point furthest from the open sea. At this point is the part of the town called the Island, divided from the mainland by a narrow strait, but connected with it by a bridge. So large is the city that it may be said to consist of four cities. One of these is the Island, already mentioned, which is surrounded by the two harbours, and juts out towards the mouth of each of them. Here is what was once the palace of King Hiero, and is now the residence of our prætors. Here also are several temples, two of which are conspicuously magnificent—one a temple of Diana, the other of Minerva, which was very richly adorned before the coming of Verres. At the extremity of this same Island is a fresh water fountain, named Arethusa, of extraordinary size, and full of fish; the waves of the sea would completely overflow it, were it not protected from them

“by a stone barrier. The second city at Syracuse is called “Achradina. This contains a very large forum, very beautiful “porticoes, a richly-adorned public hall, a spacious senate-house, and a noble temple of Jupiter Olympius. The remainder of this city consists of one broad street and several “cross-streets of private houses. The third city is called Tycha, “because it contained an ancient temple of Fortune, as well as “a very large gymnasium and several sacred buildings. It is “the most thickly-inhabited quarter. The fourth city, Neapolis, “as it is called, is that which was last built. At its highest point “is a spacious theatre; it contains also two very fine temples, “one of Ceres, the other of Libera, and a statue of Apollo, “known by the name of Temenites, of great size and beauty, “which Verrès would not have hesitated to carry off, had he “been able to remove it.”

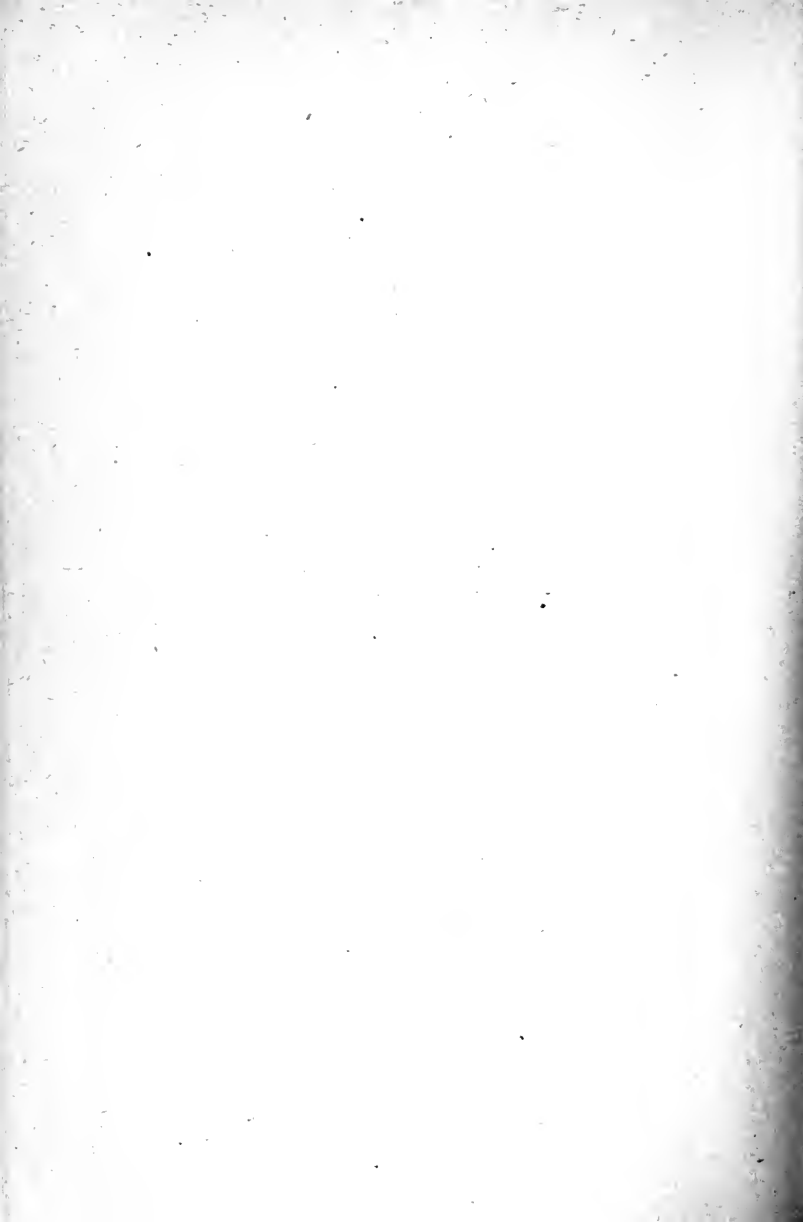
The Island was also known as Ortygia, and was the oldest part of the city. The Achradina—the name is derived from ἀχρὰς, wild pear-tree—was the next oldest quarter; it was the “outer-city” of Thucydides, facing the sea, Tycha and Neapolis being behind it. Epipolæ again, a triangular piece of highland sloping down to the sea, was behind Tycha, and at one angle stood the fort Euryalus, the modern site of which is Mongibellisi. This fort was an important position, commanding, as it did, the landward approach to Epipolæ; and we infer from XXV. 25, 26, that Marcellus could not safely attack Achradina till he had secured it. Hexapylum, to which there is continual reference in Livy’s narrative, must have been a fortified gate of considerable size opening into Tycha, and looking northwards towards Megara and Thapsus. It served to guard the approach to Syracuse from the sea, at a point where the cliffs were not high enough to be a sufficient natural obstacle.

Marcellus, according to Livy (XXV. 31), gave up Syracuse to be plundered by his soldiers, and their rage and rapacity had free play. On the other hand, Cicero would suggest (*In Verrem*, IV. 54) that he was particularly tender in his treatment of the captured city, and “spared all its buildings, both public and private.” This we may assume to be a rhetorical exaggeration to aggravate the infamy of Verres, from whom, it is asserted,

Syracuse suffered worse things in time of peace than when it was taken and sacked. Marcellus, Cicero adds, carried away to Rome many of the beauties of the city, but by no means all of them. Livy, who, it must be remembered, is partial to Marcellus, is probably nearer the truth in stating (XXV. 40) that the work of spoliation was ruthless and unsparing, though the public buildings for the most part may have been preserved. Syracuse from that time remained, indeed, a fine town, but it was but a shadow of what it had once been.



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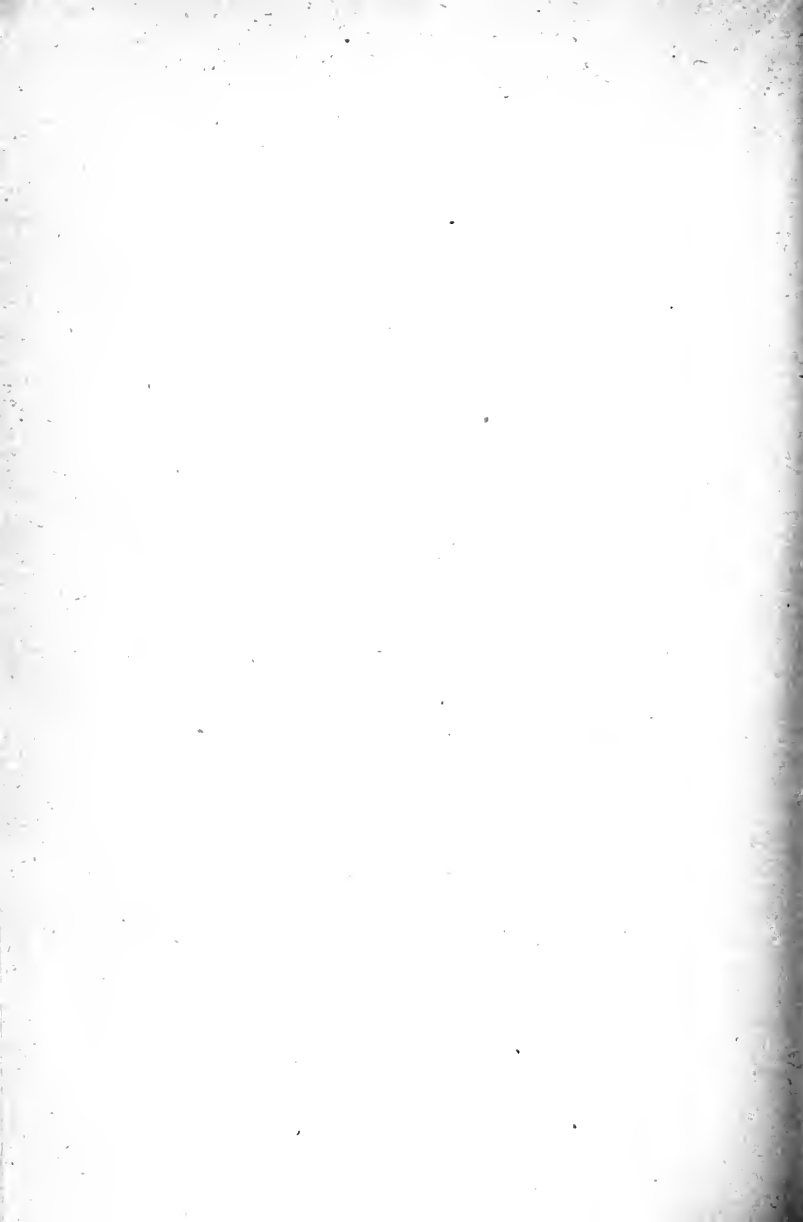
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